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ABSTRACT

Foreign language and bilingual-migrant supervisors in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois are seeking to broaden the goals of foreign language instruction by introducing cultural education along with language instruction. This publication consists of 17 articles on many aspects of the teaching of culture in foreign language classes, specifically Spanish classes. Information includes: (1) a one-act play-commentary on the lack of relevance in foreign language instruction; (2) a documented review of the state of culture in foreign language classes; (3) an attempt to implement a variety of cultural objectives; (4) a discussion of techniques for teaching cultural concepts; (5) recent sources of ideas concerning the aims of social studies instruction; (6) an example of how content sources might be organized around a pertinent topic; (7) a description of a bilingual/bicultural experiment; (8) an example of how a language class can develop sympathetic understanding of a peer culture; (9) an outline of aspects of Latin American culture which can be developed in brief daily lessons at the end of the Spanish class; and (10) an annotated bibliography of some 200 recent publications, which is intended as an aid to the teacher in selecting recent titles on Latin America. (Author/AM)

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TEACHING CULTURAL CONCEPTS IN SPANISH CLASSES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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FOREWORD

The year 2000 is just three short decades away. In an age of almost frightening revolutionary change, a new era is emerging. We hope it will be a new dawn for mankind; therefore we are faced with the task of giving a sense of purpose to our students by preparing the best qualified teachers and developing the most meaningful curricula.

Our efforts in the realm of human understanding will be futile if we are unable to instill in students an empathy for the differences in people, not only in the United States, but in other cultures as well. It is extremely important that we understand the reasons for human behavior that is different from our own, even though we do not choose to adopt that behavior. As we strive to appreciate the differences in people, we must also perceive the ways they are similar.

Foreign language supervisors and bilingual-migrant supervisors in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction are seeking to broaden the goals of foreign language instruction in the schools of Illinois. It is particularly appropriate for Spanish classes in Illinois to develop the skills and attitudes which facilitate communication with the State's more than half a million native speakers of Spanish. The inclusion of culture in the classroom will motivate students in their study of French, Spanish, German, and other languages, and help them develop a better understanding of the world community in which they live.

Michael J. Bakalis
Superintendent of Public Instruction

INTRODUCTION

H. Ned Seelye

Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction

The culture of Spain and Latin America is so intrinsically interesting that teachers have always used it in their classes to perk up sagging motivation and to rekindle in their students the resolve to stick with the "grammar" long enough to communicate (in splintered Spanish) with a native speaker of the language. Besides using cultural anecdotes as spice sprinkled about in an otherwise arid course, teachers have long wanted their students to develop a broad understanding of many aspects of the daily lives of Spanish-speaking people. Unfortunately, it has not been easy for teachers trained in the humanities to adapt concepts from the social sciences in any systematic way. While teachers have often succeeded in getting students to regard with sympathetic interest a native speaker of Spanish, they have often failed in the complementary objective of getting students to see the interrelatedness of Hispanic cultural patterns.

Students, upon completion of their Spanish course, have usually lacked an awareness of the unique but functional way things fit together and reinforce each other in Spain and Latin America. Too often, the student has come to regard isolated cultural patterns as quaint and exotic, rather than appreciate the fact that they are useful tools to satisfy physical and psychological needs within Hispanic life. For students to develop this view of culture as an interwoven tapestry requires special effort by the teacher, for many things contribute to Hispanic culture.

The present National Defense Education Act Title III publication consists of selected articles on many aspects of the teaching of culture in foreign language classes, especially as it relates to Spanish classes. All seventeen chapters have been previously published by this office or by a staff member of this office.

The current classroom reality with respect to the teaching of cultural concepts is humorously pictured (in Chapter 2) by Mr. Charles Jay, a foreign language supervisor from this office. An extensively documented review of the state of culture in foreign language classes is reprinted in Chapter 3. (An article is being prepared for the *Britannica*

Review of Foreign Language Education, Volume 3 by Genevieve Morain which will update the current chapter. Volume 3 is scheduled for publication by Encyclopaedia Britannica in November of 1971.)

Chapter 4 attempts to operationalize a variety of cultural objectives. The broad base for these objectives are seven cultural "purposes" (see Chapter 16 by Mr & Mrs Nostrand which inspired Chapter 4).

Dr. James Taylor discusses (in Chapter 5) many classroom techniques for teaching cultural concepts. Taylor calls the three main approaches to teaching culture, "out-of-class activities," "indirect classroom teaching" and "direct classroom teaching." After briefly describing the first two approaches, Taylor goes on to develop a number of techniques useful to the teacher who wants to teach cultural concepts directly in the classroom. Cultural asides, slices of life, culture capsules, question-directed discussion, the inquiry method, role playing, and group solving of situational problems are all discussed and exemplified.

Chapter 6 introduces recent sources of ideas concerning the aims of social studies instruction. The chapter argues that subject matter content should be regarded as a means to an end, and that content should not be learned for its own sake. Content itself has no intrinsic value if it does not develop new attitudes and skills. The essence of this new approach is not to guide students into a solution of teacher-presented problems, but rather to stimulate students to formulate questions which can then be brought into sharper focus through a manipulation of content. Dr. Esteves points out that problem solving often leads to pat prefabricated solutions to problems which are problems precisely because they do not have easy solutions—or perhaps because they don't have any solutions.

Chapter 7 provides an example of how a teacher might organize content sources around a "pertinent" topic. Six such topics or "key ideas" are identified. Content material appearing in about 35 publications (all 35 can be found in the annotated bibliography, Chapter 17) is categorized under the appropriate topic, thus providing ready sources which bear upon an idea of some consequence.

Bilinguality (Chapter 8) affords rich soil to till for educators, linguists, psychologists, and sociologists. In the past, many studies have concentrated on children who suffered the stigma of low socioeconomic status coupled with the plight of minority-group discrimination. Unfortunately, the investigators did not always control the variables very effectively and a misplaced negativism often became asso-

ciated with bilinguality. Bilingual children, it was argued, did not do as well in school as monolingual children. Bilinguality seemed to correlate with psychological problems. Children in these circumstances too often discovered that admitting fluency in the "minority" language was tantamount to inviting discrimination. Fortunately, prompted by more sophisticated studies of bilinguality, the esteem the bilingual child now receives reflects more properly his achievement. Mrs. Jean Miller adds to the literature on bilinguality by describing an educational experiment involving some children in Guatemala who were taught concepts in both English and Spanish from the ages of two-and-a-half to five. Mrs. Miller, who has a wealth of experience as teacher, principal, and consultant in primary education, is heartened by the results as seen at the end of the first year of the experiment.

Mrs. Dorothy Bishop, director of a large program of Spanish for fifth through eighth graders in DesPlaines, Illinois, expertly indicates (in Chapter 9) how a language class can develop sympathetic understanding of a peer culture. Mrs. Bishop's liberal inclusion of examples, and the annotated bibliography of materials appropriate for this age level, are especially helpful to the FLES teacher.

The fruitful collaboration of a Spanish teacher with an anthropologist produced an unusually seminal article which was published nine years ago in the *Modern Language Journal* and is reprinted here in Chapter 10. "Culture Capsules" presents a rather detailed outline of aspects of Latin American culture which the language teacher can develop in brief daily lessons at the end of his regular Spanish class. The authors stress that the point of these "capsules" should be confined to one minimal difference between Latin and Anglo customs.

Many readers will be familiar with the delightful "Condorito," a Chilean comic strip character who has been wickedly aiding American students learn Spanish through the excellent material developed by Wendell Hall. For the present publication, Prof. Hall has joined forces with the famous Chilean novelist Enrique Lafourcade. The result (Chapter 11) is a sprightly written brief arguing the advantages to be gained from using cartoons and comic books as a teaching device. (The *Condorito* materials are reviewed on pp. 132-133 of the present book.)

Father Juaire illustrates (in Chapter 12) the possibilities offered by folksongs by developing in detail teaching units

based on "Guantanamera," "La cucaracha," and the immortal Argentine tango "Adios muchachos." These songs are cultivated for poetic, philosophic, linguistic, and sociological insights.

Dr. Madeline Cook presents (in Chapter 13) a well-researched essay of how attitudes can be developed by teachers. Cooke discusses values, social class, cultural differences with Latin American, the family, prejudice, personality theory, role playing, etc. in this provocative chapter. Many very practical suggestions which can be implemented in the classroom are detailed.

A number of attitudinal variables were examined in terms of their relevancy for adjustment to a foreign culture. Chapter 14 concludes that actual contact with the foreign culture is more important than the possession of any given attitudes. Chapter 15 reports some interesting demographic information concerning the cultural adjustment of Americans to life in Guatemala. Of particular interest is the way the author devised an objective measure of cultural understanding.

Chapter 16 fittingly addresses itself to the crucial area of testing cultural understanding. We kid ourselves if we profess to be teaching culture but then do not attempt to measure our successes. Dr. and Mrs. Howard Nostrand provide the reader with a useful taxonomy of the different areas of culture. Illustrative test items for each category of culture help clarify the different purposes which cultural objectives can satisfy.

Chapter 17 consists of an annotated bibliography of some 200 recent publications. Sixteen scholars representing seven different academic disciplines collaborated in this undertaking. The reader who feels overwhelmed by the number of books reviewed in the bibliography might take *consuelo* in learning that none of the annotators has read all of the books, either. Nor is it necessary to read them all in order to gain an understanding of Latin America. The reader will find the bibliography helpful as an aid to selecting recent titles on aspects of Latin America which interest him. This bibliography has been slightly updated since its original publication in 1968.

**THE OMISSION OF CULTURE AT
MIDDLE AMERICA HIGH SCHOOL:
ONE ACT PLAY: A TRAGEDY ***

Charles Jay

Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction

(Middle America High School has planned a one-day seminar during summer vacation to which former students who are now attending college have been invited to participate and offer suggestions for improvement in the various subject areas. Only three courageous students have shown up at the foreign language section . . . perhaps because of the overcrowding in the English, Mathematics, and Social Studies sections. Mrs. Harper, chairman of the department for thirty-eight years, opens the meeting with a pleasant smile.)

MRS. HARPER:

As foreign language department chairman, I am happy to welcome you former students of Middle America High School back to your alma mater. As college students, you are now in an ideal position to offer suggestions for the improvement of our foreign language program. Let me thank all of you for accepting the invitation of the superintendent to participate. Please feel free to be perfectly candid in your criticisms. Dialogue is what we seek, you know . . . (pause). Yes, Steve, you seem anxious to begin.

(Mrs. Harper recognizes a bearded boy wearing horned-rimmed glasses with "Student Power" emblazoned on his T-Shirt.)

STEVE:

I am now a senior at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. It would seem to me that the foreign language program at Middle America is totally irrelevant to our personal needs and those of society. I am afraid it's that way in most high schools.

MRS. HARPER:

Goodness gracious, Steve. You always were an outspoken young man. I recall reading in the paper that you are one of

* From Charles Jay and Pat Castle, eds., *French Language Education: The Teaching of Culture in the Classroom*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1971, pp. 1-10.

the most vociferous of the young militants at S.I.U. Are you now saying that even high school foreign language programs must subscribe to your views on social change? What about the "constants"—those things that have everlasting value in our school curriculum?

STEVE:

I am saying that the foreign language program at Middle America suffers from a pretty gruesome distortion of priorities. Anything we study in high school that does not have relevance to our lives in a rapidly changing world is a waste of time. Society moves out of sight, and the school is like the old tortoise.

MRS. HARPER:

Kindly remember to be respectful in your criticisms, Steve. Unless an amiable atmosphere prevails here our meeting will not be productive. I am being totally honest when I say I believe you students use words like "relevance" to excess. Is this not a pretext to avoid hard work, to relegate everything in the school program to a fun level? "Watering down the curriculum" seems to be an accurate assessment of this trend. . . Let's get another observation.

(Mrs. Harper recognizes a young lady in blue leotards sitting opposite Steve.)

SUSAN:

You remember me, Mrs. Harper. My name is Susan Halberg, next year a senior at Western Illinois University. I had four years of French and two of Spanish at Middle America. Although I made good grades in both languages I felt my teachers were preoccupied with teaching skills that would place me in the appropriate niche on the college level rather than providing a program suitable to my interests and abilities. One teacher even bragged about the number of students she had who scored high on the college proficiency tests—as if that were the primary goal of classroom instruction. I call this "the-next-level-of-learning-syndrome." You know, where teachers look upon high school as just a step to something bigger and better. What a gas! Here and now has some importance.

MRS. HARPER:

But, Susan, you and the other students surely realize that one of our functions is the preparation of students for college.

SUSAN:

This may be true, but it is not the sole function. Middle America has about 1600 students, I believe. How many, would you say, are involved in the foreign language program?

MRS. HARPER:

The past year we had 289 students in the first two years of French, German, and Spanish. Because of scheduling problems and the indifference of counselors we had only 28 students in third and fourth year classes.

SUSAN:

I see, in other words you are reaching only about a fourth of the student body.

MRS. HARPER:

We are "reaching," as you put it, the great majority of those who intend to go on to college. I think our record speaks for itself.

SUSAN:

But what about the other 75% who never study a foreign language? Couldn't Middle America have programs for them also?

MRS. HARPER:

Well, it may be old hat to say so, but a great number of people in the foreign language profession, myself included, still believe in scholarship. Imagine offering foreign languages to every Tom, Dick, and Harry. Do any of you happen to know the verbal aptitude scores of some of these people? It would just be a waste of time for everyone concerned!

STEVE:

But, Mrs. Harper, this is what I meant earlier by "relevance." The chances for successful achievement in foreign languages are still low for those who are evaluated primarily on their knowledge of grammar skills. Can't foreign language programs be made relevant to the overall educational program? Man, when you are all hung up on the mastery of grammar skills, the system is limiting a kid's educational achievement to conditions of race, color, national background, family economic and social status . . . stuff that most of the kids who are going to college don't have to contend with . . . Why not offer something of value, but with a de-emphasis on traditional skills?

MRS. HARPER:

Do you know what the parents of this district would say if our department minimized the acquisition of grammar skills? We would be accused of sacrificing quality in education for heaven-knows-what! Parents have a right to demand high standards when they are footing the bill. I know that statement runs contrary to the beliefs of most of you students, but it . . .

(A boy with a love and peace symbol, demonstrably evident on his University of Illinois sweatshirt, interrupts at this point.)

HARRY:

But, Mrs. Harper, standards for what? And for whom, students or their parents? Oh, yes, my name is Harry Guardino. I graduated from Middle America in 1967 and am now majoring in French at the University of Illinois. When you speak of standards it must be for some purpose, directed towards some goal. I didn't realize it at the time but I do now. What may be considered legitimate standards of excellence in one generation may in the next be nothing but wasteful outputs of energy. This is blind faith in tradition, it seems to me, a belief that society's goals are always the same—at every moment and in all places the same. College-prep high school programs may have had a vital function in the old America, but the high school is much more complex and serves numerous functions now. Structures are changing, but foreign language programs are still basically inflexible.

MRS. HARPER:

Well, Harry, it may be old-fashioned in these times, but I feel strongly that mediocrity should not be enshrined. Excellence is a common denominator that crosses the generations.

HARRY:

I remember the teacher in French I who spent three weeks on the passé simple.

SUSAN:

And there was my teacher in French II who had us reading the symbolist poets. She simply was unable to realize it is unrealistic to apply courses in literary criticism to the needs of a high school curriculum.

STEVE:

Holy cow, just for the record I could mention the time we had to memorize fifty words for a vocabulary quiz. This

teacher was also always reminding us of how the study of French grammar helped us in our English work.

HARRY:

Crazy, man! Who ever heard of justifying the study of a foreign language because it made you more proficient in your native tongue? That's really no reason at all . . .

SUSAN:

Steve is right . . . And that was one of the reasons for studying a foreign language the counselors always gave us.

STEVE:

Or we had pressure at home to take a foreign language . . . some kind of fuzzy logic that said the study of another language made us more complete human beings, the well-rounded individual, and all that noise. Dad once said, "French trains the mind." Wow! He had seven years in high school and college and couldn't even exchange simple greetings with the boy from Lille I brought home from college last Christmas.

MRS. HARPER:

I can't help but feel your criticisms refer mainly to isolated cases. Our program is certainly not typified by the exaggerated claims you make. Our department members are striving to teach the four skills . . . you know, comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing in some kind of sequential audio-lingual visual manner. Our materials are recent and structurally sound according to the best experts in our profession.

HARRY:

But our point is simply that regardless of methodology and materials the foreign language program at Middle America is structured primarily to prepare students for college admission and placement.

MRS. HARPER:

A wide gulf seems to separate us . . . I am sure that you feel some sinister plot exists at Middle America High School to de-humanize the young. Heaven knows, you will probably accuse us next of creating a credibility gap. I have sat here patiently and heard what you feel is wrong with Middle America's foreign language program. But as is so typical with dissident attitudes, no real suggestions are forthcoming for improvement. Generalizations about shortcomings are fine, but I really feel that some specific recommendations are necessary if this meeting is to be helpful. What do you want us to do and how?

SUSAN:

Middle America must first become aware of its weaknesses. This realization is the first step in making proposals for change. The three of us feel strongly that unless modern foreign language programs see the handwriting on the wall they will find themselves in the same dilemma as Latin.

MRS. HARPER:

I don't quite see what you mean...

SUSAN:

My mother told me that in the nineteen-thirties when she attended Middle America most "good" students took Latin. It isn't even offered at this school today. The same thing can happen to modern foreign languages.

MRS. HARPER:

Latin is dying in our public schools because of the public's anti-intellectual attitudes and the proliferation of "life-centered" non-academic courses by professional educators.

SUSAN:

It is dying because it served a limited function. Students studying Latin can see little reason for studying a "dead" language.

STEVE:

If Latin had related itself more directly to other subject areas... if only it had not remained isolated. It's imperative that modern foreign languages not make the same mistake and suffer the same pitfalls.

MRS. HARPER:

(In sarcastic tones) To what should it "relate?"

STEVE:

Well... obviously to something like the social studies.

HARRY:

That's right... my generation feels that understanding among peoples is a vital necessity in today's world. Couldn't this be an important goal of foreign language instruction?

MRS. HARPER:

I have never suggested that foreign languages tread upon the private domain of social studies. Why should the social studies expect foreign languages to serve their interests? I haven't heard of any French being taught in the American problems class or in world history.

SUSAN:

But don't you see? Much of the disillusionment we feel towards education is the total lack of any interdisciplinary approach in classroom instruction. The same is true of the so-called general studies areas in colleges. Everybody pushes his own specialized interest without displaying any concern for what is taking place in related areas.

MRS. HARPER:

Wait just a minute... let me catch my breath... Are you saying that modern foreign languages need a new dimension if they are to maintain their position in the school curriculum?

SUSAN:

We are saying precisely that!!!

MRS. HARPER:

Well, what is it?

HARRY:

Culture.

MRS. HARPER:

Culture?

HARRY:

Yes... culture. The one ingredient that will give new purpose and scope to the study of foreign languages.

MRS. HARPER:

We have always emphasized culture in our foreign language classes at Middle America. Harry Guardino, I remember very well the paper you wrote in French III on Victor Hugo. Do you remember the presentation Amy Cohen made on the Second Empire? Even in the beginning classes we have special projects... folk songs, poetry, a trip to a French restaurant, the annual Fête de Noël, and lots of other things. Why, just look at this room... When the president of the school board dropped in for Open House he said it was just like getting off the plane at the Paris airport. And what about the sidewalk café we sponsored at the junior-senior prom? Everybody in my department feels that culture has a rightful place in the classroom.

STEVE:

But what does that kind of stuff tell us about French people? What do we really find out about the way people in France live, the way they think, their hopes and aspirations, and all that? Kids don't develop insights by looking at

a TWA travel poster of Paris, singing *La Marseillaise* once a week, or hanging up Delacroix paintings in the back of the room. That junk only skims the surface of what Americans should learn about another culture.

MRS. HARPER:

I realize that you are referring to the study of culture in the anthropological sense. However, can't this be accomplished through descriptions, histories, or analyses that are provided by the social sciences?

STEVE:

Not according to some of the books I have been reading in foreign language methodology at college. Even in the first year of foreign language study, the best exposure to the culture is the use of the native language in the classroom. This way we are given more than just information about the culture. I think we are in better position to understand the mental processes of other people. This is real in-depth treatment not possible in the social studies classroom where so much time is devoted to merely talking and reading about other people. *Language is culture.*

HARRY:

I couldn't agree with Steve more. Most Americans must cross a kind of intellectual border to really understand another culture. Experiencing direct communication and response in a foreign language permits us to look at another culture with sharper focus. This isn't achieved by going to Spanish class and breaking the pinata at Christmastime... or hanging up the pictures of Bavarians in folk dress... or building a facsimile, from toothpicks, of Notre Dame as we did one year in French class.

SUSAN:

Maybe I can sum up what my friends may be trying to say. Meanings expressed in a foreign language are largely culturally determined. In my opinion, teachers should provide help to all students in acquiring language skills built upon fundamental cultural concepts... not upon mere superficialities of the culture. Naturally, cultural insights should be introduced at the very beginning level of language learning and structured in such a way as to guarantee a comprehension of more sophisticated cultural items at each succeeding level of learning. When we think about this orderly and systematic approach to the teaching of culture it makes one realize that what is now being done in foreign language classes is of only secondary importance.

STEVE:

I think that a greater emphasis upon culture... and again I am referring mainly to the way people live and why... would be a tremendous asset in student motivation. Some kind of awareness that *actual* people in *actual* life situations were being studied might strike many students with a greater sense of urgency in their pursuit of foreign languages. When I was a high school student studying French I could never quite escape the sense that I was sitting in class for all the wrong reasons. If only someone had told me I was there to learn something really significant about the millions of people who speak French... that would have had so much more meaning. I mean, really, who can come on enthusiastic about learning a whole progression of grammar skills unless he has a preview of the ultimate rewards that makes such daily drudgery bearable?

MRS. HARPER:

The "ultimate reward" in studying a foreign language is someday having the ability to use the language in an individually satisfying manner.

STEVE:

Yes, certainly... at least for those who have the ability to learn another language. But you aren't accomplishing this when the overwhelming majority of your students are studying the language for two short years. Fluency can't be a very realistic goal in a short sequence. So why not make an important case for cultural understanding as one of the primary goals? You might, at the same time, get more students to continue in third and fourth year programs if traditional grammar approaches were de-emphasized.

MRS. HARPER:

But even if we really *wanted* to de-emphasize grammar, what would the colleges say if our students were inadequately prepared for admission and placement?

STEVE:

Well, what do they say now?... After all, the university says that 80% of the kids who tried to continue in the same language after two years study in high school were failing at the end of the first semester. Why is it so darn wrong for high schools to develop programs geared to student needs at that level? If it is decided that cultural understanding is a primary goal of foreign language learning on the secondary level then it will be necessary for the colleges to adjust to this fact of life.

HARRY:

The important thing to remember is that while it is quite reasonable to equip the student with the ability to comprehend, speak, read, and write the language, areas of student performance must also include the role of culture.

MRS. HARPER:

(appearing rather tired and glancing nervously at the clock) Well, this has certainly been an interesting session. There is nothing like a frank exchange of ideas to improve our schools. What you former students at Middle America have had to say will be very valuable in evaluating our foreign language program. Unfortunately, the hands on the clock tell us we have run out of time. The superintendent will appoint the committees for curriculum revision next month and I shall certainly pass on to them your opinions relating to the role of culture in the foreign language classroom. In conclusion, I want to express my heartfelt appreciation for your attendance here today.

(The three students shake hands with Mrs. Harper and are last seen glancing at a new bust of Horace Mann which this year's graduating class has purchased and is now prominently displayed in a glass case opposite the superintendent's office. Our three students appear noticeably depressed as they leave the school and step into the bright sunshine of a hot summer day.)

(Mrs. Harper remains seated alone at her desk after the students leave. Stuart's portrait of George Washington, above the blackboard, and the shadow cast by a plastic made-in-Japan, Eiffel Tower, displayed in the window, offer proof that this is a foreign language classroom in an American school in the last third of the twentieth century.)

(Later in the week our dedicated department chairman wrote the following letter to her superintendent.)

Mr. Percy Tidbit
Superintendent
District No. 209
Middle America High School
Middle America, U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Tidbit:

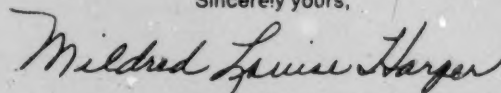
I feel that the foreign language section of our summer seminar was very successful. Three former students, who are now majoring in foreign languages at college, attended and put forth many helpful ideas. If nothing else, we must certainly give this generation credit for talking a lot, even if deep and well organized thinking is not always apparent.

It was readily obvious to me that students think primarily in the realm of idealism. I am sure that when many of them step into the classroom for the first time they will modify their irrational thinking. We all know that it's hard knocks of practical experience which teach us the facts of life. The participants were largely concerned about what they vaguely referred to as the "teaching of culture in the foreign language classroom." They were incapable of grasping that the primary function of our high school program is the preparation of students for college. Obviously, that implies a firm foundation in the knowledge of grammar skills.

I believe strongly in developing expertise. I have an unwavering belief in the spirit of scholarship and a curriculum that develops the real intellectual potentialities of youth. Quality foreign language education can make no compromise with nebulous appeals to emphasize culture in the classroom. I am sure that members of my department will support me in rejecting such an educationally unsound proposal. I did promise the participants, however, that I would submit their recommendations at next fall's curriculum conference, and I shall honor that obligation.

By the way, Mr. Tidbit, permit me to thank you for appointing me as chairman of the October All-School Curriculum Conference. It is, indeed, a great honor. Since there will be no basic changes in our foreign language program, I can devote myself full-time to hearing and writing the recommendations made by the other subject area committees.

Sincerely yours,



Mrs. Mildred Louise Harper
Chairman
Foreign Language Department

ANALYSIS AND TEACHING OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CONTEXT *

H. Ned Seelye

Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction

There are probably not many, if any, foreign language courses that do not attempt to justify their existence to a considerable extent by claiming that an understanding of the foreign culture is an outgrowth of language study. How do language teachers define culture? How do they teach culture? Does what is taught in the name of culture lead to an appreciation or understanding of people with different life styles? In what direction has the thinking of the profession been developing? These are some of the questions this chapter will discuss. Papers read at conferences have not been reviewed in this chapter unless they were subsequently published, and in only infrequent instances have pre-1966 publications been reviewed. An annotated bibliography of sources published between 1945 and 1964 relevant to the teaching of culture is available in Nostrand, Foster, & Christensen's compilation (81, p. 292-307). This chapter is divided into four sections: (1) the scope of culture in foreign language classes; (2) the knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be developed; (3) activities and materials for achieving cultural communication and understanding; and (4) a survey of the status of measuring cultural achievement.

Scope of culture in foreign language classes

What is culture?

Is culture a da Vinci handsomely reposing in the marble hallways of the Louvre, or is it the technique a workman employs to brush his teeth? Does it concern itself with the stirring notes of a de Falla symphony, or is it more interested in the feudal routine of a Spanish peasant?

The first really contemporary effort to define culture was exerted by anthropologists. Culture, they reasoned, was what their science was all about. It was, therefore, imperative to define it precisely. How else, theoretical-minded

* From Emma M. Birkmaier, ed., *Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education*, Volume 1, 1968, Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1968 [sic, 1969], pp. 38-81. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

anthropologists were prone to ask, could valid research be accomplished in the area. It seemed logically evident that to talk about culture one has to know what culture is. But each anthropologist had his own definition of it. Prompted by a desire to isolate the common denominator in the many diverse definitions of the term, two well-known anthropologists, Kroeber & Kluckhohn, almost two decades ago examined approximately 300 definitions in a study entitled *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (59). However, a precise common denominator was not found. Instead, if one were pressed to abstract the catholicity of the concept it would be that culture is a very broad concept embracing all aspects of the life of man (and a few other primates as well). The anthropologist White (114) concludes a recent article on this problem by quoting Alfred North Whitehead: "It is a well-founded historical generalization that the last thing to be discovered in any science is what the science is really about."

Language teachers have been slow to accept "culture" as a broadly defined concept. For much of the profession, culture has been defined almost exclusively in terms of the fine arts. This narrow definition of culture, unfortunately, does not fully prepare a student to understand other peoples. An understanding of the way of life of a foreign people is important to survival in a world of conflicting value systems, where the boundaries that formerly isolated and protected man from alien ideas have been eroded by advances in the technology of communication, or struck down by the angry clamor of the downtrodden in their search for a better life. How is one to liberate one's ideas from the stagnant recesses of ethnocentrism, from what Francis Bacon called the Fallacy of the Tribe, if not through a study of other cultures? And to penetrate another culture, knowledge of the foreign language is imperative. Elitism—restricting the study of foreign languages to the academically gifted and disciplined, while divorcing the cultural content from those aspects of life that concern most people most of the time—is responsible for much of the dry rot of object boredom current in too many language programs today.

Brooks (12), who has been so influential in having the profession recognize the importance of culture, finds (at an arbitrary level of abstraction) five different types of culture: biological growth, personal refinement, literature and the fine arts, patterns for living, and the sum total of a way of life. Brooks stresses the importance of never losing sight

of the individual when we talk about culture as it is relevant to language classes. The type of culture that Brooks identifies as most appropriate for beginning language classes is "patterns for living," a concept defined as "... the individual's role in the unending kaleidoscope of life situations of every kind and the rules and models for attitude and conduct in them" (12, p. 210). It is these patterns that enable the individual to relate to "the social order to which he is attached." Literature and the fine arts and the "sum total of a way of life" should be worked into the curriculum "as can reasonably be added as the learner's competence increases" (12, p. 212). Culture should be broadly sampled. As Brooks says, culture in the classroom "must not only answer the question: Where is the bookstore? It must also answer the question: Where is the bathroom?" (12, p. 210)

Culture and literature

Some professors dedicated to an analysis of literary style claim that literature affords the best tool to teach about the life of the people. Here we need to be cautious. Nostrand (78, p. 16) advises, "in generalizing from literature. Many Russians of today have formed their idea of the American businessman and of Wall Street partly from American novels such as *Babbitt* which reflect a hostile attitude on the part of one subculture in the United States, the writers, toward another subculture, the businessmen." Lewald (66, p. 303), in an article that expertly reviews the problems associated with teaching about culture in language classes, comments on the use of fiction to illustrate a target culture by observing that this "has been defended on the grounds that all art is based on a conscious or unconscious contact with social reality and cultural patterns, present in the mind of the creative writer. Here the problem arises of determining which types of literature or art forms are most suitable to elicit cultural patterns or indicators. A case might be made for those forms that strongly reflect an outer reality." Lewald goes on to suggest that the contribution of psychological, surrealist, or experimental writing would be questionable. It might be added that if the interest is in contemporary culture rather than in a preindustrial historical period then the number of qualifying documents shrinks greatly.

One writer (Imhoof, 55), cognizant of the cultural biases endemic in reading selections designed for use in foreign language courses, sees the necessity for controlling the cultural variations that appear in the materials. However, in

emphasizing the universal aspects of culture one should avoid sidestepping the contrastive manifestations of the target culture. While literary works become important as they develop themes of universal interest, in order to understand a culture's uniqueness study must also be directed to the local, nonuniversal cultural patterns.

Even in situations where the legitimate objective of the language course is the study of fine literature, a knowledge of culture is not an irrelevant digression. One writer whose sympathies were definitely literary in nature came to the conclusion through teaching a course in English as a second language that in the study of literature the whole area of cultural comprehension is more likely than language to cause difficulty (Povey, 87, p. 44). Another writer who reached the same conclusion sees harm in attempting to rely too heavily on cultural generalizations abstracted from literature. Yousef (116, p. 228-229), in describing the experience of some teachers involved in teaching adult Arab employees of an American company, recounts that "it was clear to the teachers that literary values were not universal. These students of English as a foreign language would never be able to reach an understanding of the people and the culture of the United States by studying American literature. Instead, the study of American literature actually seemed to increase misunderstanding and confusion. It was apparent that the students would need pertinent cultural orientation before they could attempt any meaningful literature course." Beaujour & Ehrmann (5, p. 154) maintain that in itself, the study of culture is a humanistic discipline, which must recognize and develop its own tools. It cannot be dealt with as a series of disconnected footnotes to literature.

The quarrel is not with the value of literature or paintings as a means to illustrate how the foreign people live, but rather with the restrictive inroad fiction offers as the major source of information. Since many language teachers feel uncomfortable dealing with concepts and data of the social sciences, they tend to rely too heavily on literature to teach culture. Consequently, the common dual descriptor "literature and culture" has itself become suspect: it too often means a little culture and a lot of literature. On the other hand, "the study of culture and that of literature, which must be clearly separated, are neither irreconcilable nor antagonistic" (Beaujour & Ehrmann, 5, p. 154).

Marquardt (70), to whom credit is due for preparing those portions of the American Council on the Teaching of

Foreign Languages (ACTFL) bibliography on culture that deal with Teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages (*Foreign Language Annals* 2:iv, May 1969: 499, 500), suggests the value of certain carefully selected literary works as an aid to teaching cross-cultural communication. A doctoral dissertation completed by Christian (21) combined his analysis of 25 Latin American contemporary novels, and tape recorded interviews with 15 novelists, with both social scientific and literary studies of Latin America in an effort to assess the reaction of members of different Latin American social classes to modern urban middle-class values. Christian's interpretation of both empirical and "mystical" data was especially sensitive. Literary approaches such as Marquardt's and Christian's do much to rekindle hope for an eventual rapprochement between those interested in Culture with a big "C," and those interested in viewing it more broadly with a little "c." Literature can best be seen, in the present context, as illustrating the cultural patterns of a society once the patterns have been identified by the methods of the social sciences: social science as source, literature as example.

Folklore, an ideal compromise?

Morain (72) convincingly argues that folklore offers a logical bridge to service language teachers trained in literary analysis who are interested in getting closer to an anthropological understanding of culture but who are not equipped by disposition or background to deal with the empirical orientations of the social scientist. Morain takes as her definition of folklore the comfortably loose description by Taylor (107, p. 34): "Folklore is the material that is handed on by tradition, either by word of mouth or by custom and practice. It may be folksongs, folktales, proverbs, or other materials preserved in words. It may be traditional tools and physical objects like fences or knots, hot cross buns, or Easter eggs; traditional ornamentation like the walls of Troy; or traditional symbols like the swastika. It may be traditional procedures like throwing salt over one's shoulder or knocking on wood. It may be traditional beliefs like the notion that elder is good for ailments of the eye. All of these are folklore."

Morain argues that when it comes to mirroring the attitudes of large groups, folklore is superior to literary writing. The very durability of folktales, proverbs, slurs, and jests is an indication of the validity they have for a given people. Therefore, it would seem logical that a study of carefully selected folk materials could illuminate some of the impor-

tant cultural themes that underlie a country's thought and action (72, p. 676). While Mcrain's examples are taken from the French, Campa (14) demonstrates how an analysis of folklore can illuminate the main themes of Hispanic culture. One-line proverbs, brief verses, narrative ballads, and riddles all afford lively illustrations of such themes as the "picaresqueness of the Spaniard," or his sense of "self assurance."

Appearing in *Soviet Education*, an article by Khanbikov (58) advances a communist appraisal of the value of basing educational philosophy in general on the best of the mores and customs, folk knowledge, folk law, literature and art, religious faiths, games and toys, and so forth, which the working people have traditionally transmitted to their children. Khanbikov calls this "folk pedagogy." He goes on to say that this folk pedagogy is of a democratic nature; it is the result of the creative contribution of many generations of working people to spiritual culture, its inalienable component. Many thousands of folk philosophers, psychologists, and educators have worked on its creation. It is the expression of the ideals of the toiling majority, and it puts forward, in correspondence with the needs of the people, the most humane and democratic ideals in the education of the rising generation, rejecting everything that contradicts these ideals (58, p. 39). This Marxist willingness to place faith in the culture of the masses contrasts interestingly with the reluctance of some "democratic" language teachers to discuss in sympathetic terms the life styles of the French, Spanish, or German workers.

It is a great disappointment for many students, who have developed fluency in the language after 4 to 12 years of sequential study and have passed the advanced placement test, to go on to advanced classes only to discover in college that if they are to continue taking courses in their second language, they have to study literature or "advanced grammar." Even the somewhat isolated "Civilization and Culture" course usually bases itself "solidly" on literature. If a student wants to satisfy any of the many interests he was led to expect from his high school language teachers, he must often leave, or avoid altogether, the college foreign language department, for frequently it is easier to locate professors who are both fluent in the foreign language and interested in its culture in departments other than the language department. Perhaps folklore is the door through which more culturally pertinent materials can be introduced into the rather arid college offerings.

Knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be developed

In 1967, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) began compiling an annual bibliography on a number of areas that pertain to language teaching. Brooks was appointed head of the section on culture, and his bibliography was subsequently published in the December 1967 issue of *Foreign Language Annals* (FLA). Nostrand was assigned the responsibility for the 1968 compilation which appeared in the May 1969 issue of FLA. These ACTFL bibliographies (to be published yearly in the May issue of FLA) offer an excellent, up-to-date listing of articles and books that treat culture. The bibliographies include both content-oriented reference works written by social scientists and historians, and publications that attempt to apply cultural knowledge to the teaching of culture in foreign language classes. Some of the languages for which helpful reference sources were listed include Arabic (Pietrzyk, 86), Chinese (Hucker, 52), French (Pemberton, 85), German (8), Greek (Arnott, 3), Japanese (Silberman, 103), Latin (Crook, 23), Portuguese (Sayers, 93), and Spanish (Adams, 1).

Besieged by an endless procession of cultural studies, the language teacher must ask himself what knowledge is relevant and what skills should be developed in students. Nostrand (73) proposes that language teachers concentrate upon just two basic purposes in teaching about a foreign way of life: cross-cultural communication and understanding.

Cross-cultural communication

Since the basic aim of a language class is to have the student learn to communicate in the foreign language, it is obvious that if fairly common emotions and thoughts cannot be understood apart from their cultural referents then these referents must be taught in the language classroom. Some interesting examples of difficulties in cross-cultural communication that arise from ignorance of the target culture are recounted in several articles.

Barrutia (4), in an article that discusses the relation of language development to cultural barriers, illustrates one type of cultural problem by contrasting near synonyms in English. The possible social consequences of a loose interchange of role-linked terms would be amusing to observe—in someone else. Barrutia supplies a verse to dramatize the sex connotation of many common words.

A woman has a figure, a man has a physique;

A father roars in rage, a mother shrieks in pique;
Broad-shouldered athletes throw what dainty dam-
sels toss;

And female bosses supervise, male bosses boss.

Lads gulp, maids sip;

Jacks plunge, Jills dip;

Guys bark, dames snap;

Boys punch, girls slap;

Gobs swab, WAVES mop;

Braves buy, squaws shop.

A gentleman perspires, a lady merely glows;

A husband is suspicious; a wife, however, knows.

Besides sex and social class referents, whether an object is recognized at all depends greatly on an understanding of the extralinguistic cultural referents. The writer (95) had an advanced Spanish literature class in college that considered a paperback from Mexico defective because the pages were not cut. Although the students had presumably mastered the linguistic aspects of *libro*, ignorance of the nonlinguistic referents of the word impeded their recognition of the perfectly normal object. Debyser (26), in a translation of an earlier article appearing in French, offers examples from the French to illustrate how the extralinguistic referents of common terms and phrases can be taught on the elementary level. It is not enough, Debyser shows, to know the words denoting the various members of a family (mother, child, uncle), for example. To be able to use the words with impunity one must also know the specific social context within which each can be employed. The word *maman*, for instance, may be used by a person when he talks to his mother, but would rarely be used by him when talking about her to others.

Much misunderstanding among the profession concerning the degree to which an attempt should be made to get the student to act like a native is the result of confusing the *ability* or skill to communicate accurately and the *attitudes* toward man and beast dictated by the foreign mores. There should be no controversy about the aim of accurate communication, and this includes understanding the culturally based mores of the target people but does not necessarily include professing or internalizing the mores.

Understanding

Nostrand's second basic purpose in teaching the foreign culture—understanding—raises questions of delineation

that the objective of cross-cultural communication does not, for understanding implies a restructuring of our "sacred" cognitive patterns. Nostrand includes under the rubric of understanding, for example, such intangibles as "the psychological capacity to be magnanimous toward strange ways" (78, p. 5—8). In the final analysis, no matter how technically dexterous a student's training in the foreign language, if he avoids contact with native speakers of that language, and if he lacks respect for their cognitive patterns, of what value has his training been? Where can it be put to use? What educational breadth has it inspired?

Unfortunately, some teachers themselves do not feel comfortable in the presence of native speakers of a foreign language. In part, this is because the teachers have not learned to follow speech at conversational speed, have not learned what things to talk about and what to avoid, have not accustomed themselves to the amount of space separating them from the native (Hall, 47, 48), or to the rules governing eyeball to eyeball contact, have not learned to share the target sense of humor or their songs, have not learned the cultural referents to the topics of discussion, and have succumbed to a regrettable tendency to underestimate ethnocentrically the intelligence of a member of another culture. The enlightened teaching of selected cultural elements can do much to prepare a student both to understand and enjoy a native speaker of the language. There is no enjoyment in listening to someone one can't understand, and one can't understand someone if his cultural referents, his view of the world, and his linguistic forms are novel. It is the language teacher who can build bridges from one cognitive system to another (Freeman, 34). Some ways to accomplish this are mentioned in the following section on activities and materials for achieving cultural communication and understanding.

One naive assumption occasionally made by language teachers is that a mastery of the linguistic patterns of a foreign culture leads in itself to "thinking like a native." As Lewald (66, p. 302) properly points out, this belief is unwarranted. Unless the student is learning the language in the target culture, the cultural referents necessary to understanding a native speaker must be *additionally* learned. Jay argues the point in pertinently broad terms: It should be made crystal clear, however, that bilingualism itself does not insure *ipso facto* a respect for other cultural patterns. The traditional hostility between France and Germany has been until recently a bitter reality, even though

the language of each was commonly taught and understood by the other . . . Bilingualism is not in itself the answer to cultural understanding among people. An indispensable asset, it must be fortified by the strongest possible sensitivity education. With knowledge of the language must exist a similar knowledge of the social, religious, and economic attitudes of a people (56, p. 85-86).

Interdisciplinary approaches to culture

Part of understanding consists of developing an awareness of the principles and phenomena governing the cultural system of the foreign country and of culture in general everywhere. It was this level of understanding that prompted the superintendent of a city school system to complain to the writer during an evaluation of his language program that when foreign language teachers are asked to justify the existence of their department in the curriculum, "they cry 'cultural understanding' to high heaven." This superintendent felt that the place to teach cultural understanding is in the social studies department. Are language teachers imperialistically encroaching upon the domain of the social studies teacher, teaching in a haphazard and amateurish way what history teachers are better equipped to handle?

Educators have long recognized the danger inherent in compartmentalizing knowledge into separate academic disciplines. It seems that the average student experiences considerable difficulty in integrating what he learns from one course with what he learns from another. Academicians should rejoice when important areas of shared interest among departments arise, for this presents an opportunity to integrate meaningfully the insights born of different methodological approaches to common problems. The question concerning who should teach about culture should focus on how the social studies department and the foreign language department can complement each other in bringing the student to an understanding of the nature of culture and how it is manifested in the world's societies.

Social studies courses generally approach a study of foreign societies from a cross-cultural perspective. The focus remains for a brief time on one society, then turns to another. In the better courses, cultural systems are compared at critical points with the view of elucidating both the universal principles of man and the particular systems of selected societies. The contribution of language to the development of a society rarely receives attention in social studies courses on the secondary school level. On the col-

lege level, on the other hand, the study of linguistics developed out of the anthropology department and did not originate in its modern American form in the foreign language department. Paradoxically, then, secondary school social studies programs largely ignore the role of language in human affairs while the most significant studies of language occur not in departments of foreign language but in the college social science programs.

Language classes, in contrast to social studies classes, concentrate on understanding one particular culture, or at the most, a number of related subcultures. At their best, language classes offer a student the linguistic and cultural skills he needs to function in the foreign culture, and in addition attempt to provide an intellectual grasp of the cultural and linguistic forces that mold the unique culture he is studying. While the language teacher is more apt than his social studies counterpart to have lived in the culture he describes, a broadly-based, cross-cultural perspective is not included in language classes.

The cross-cultural method of social studies classes and the indepth inquiry of language classes would seem to complement each other, the one affording a check against the generalizations of the other. It is difficult to conceive of a serious student of culture who does not comprehend the nature of language, and one is reluctant to accord confidence in the pronouncements of a person who knows but one culture. Singer (104) further argues that one cannot understand a second culture without first understanding one's own. However, the reverse logic is equally appealing: the only way to understand one's own culture well is to understand another culture first.

There have been several recent publications that have interest for both language and social studies teachers. One attempt to explore the area of interest shared by both disciplines was published by the Illinois Office of Public Instruction (Seelye, 101). Although it missed several logical areas of cooperation such as team teaching and common development of course objectives, it did suggest a reorganization of topics of some importance, largely anthropological and historical, that the language teacher could profitably develop in his classes. The basis for the proposed reorganization is argued in a succinct review essay by Esteves (31), and further elaborated in another article (Seelye, 99), where it is claimed that subject matter content should be regarded as a means to an end, and that content should not be learned for its own sake. Content it-

self has no intrinsic value if it does not develop new attitudes and skills. The essence of the approach argued by Esteves and other contemporary educators is that one should not guide students into a solution of teacher-presented problems, but rather stimulate students to formulate questions that then can be brought into sharper focus through a manipulation of content. Esteves points out that problem-solving often leads to pat prefabricated solutions to problems that are problems precisely because they do not have easy solutions. This approach to teaching skills "would replace the role of teacher as [know-it-all] lecturer, with the role of research assistant to an interested student" (99, p. 7). To contribute to an atmosphere of organized learning, rather than an air of anarchy, some model construct of the culture could be utilized, such as the one developed by Taylor & Sorenson (108) based on Mexican patterns, or the one by Nostrand (77) based on French patterns. The writer (99) has claimed that much of the problem of student interest improves when the student is offered a choice among topics that are themselves important. To this end, a bibliographic index of 30 or so recent books on Latin America, organized under 23 "key ideas" of Latin American culture, has been developed. The prior availability of these "key ideas" further emphasizes the advantage to be gained from an interdisciplinary study of culture. They were developed for social studies teachers by the Latin American Curriculum Project of the University of Texas in Austin, directed by Gill & Conroy (38, 42), and are quite useful to the teacher of Spanish or Portuguese. Conversely, the Foreign Language Innovative Curricula Studies project in Ann Arbor, Mich., directed by James McClafferty, is producing multimedia units on French culture, and materials to aid the teaching of Hispanic culture to Mexican-American children, which may well interest social studies teachers. This whole area of crosspollination and cooperation between departments of social studies and foreign languages holds much promise for the future.

Teachers interested in reviewing the findings of the social sciences will find the encyclopedic summaries prepared by Berelson & Steiner (7) to be a good place to begin. Hymes' mammoth reader in linguistics and anthropology (53) is an exceptionally valuable source although some of the articles are difficult to follow. A recent compilation of some of the outstanding articles of the last decade written by anthropologists (Manners & Kaplan, 69) has two sections of special interest to the teacher of foreign lan-

guages: Culture and Personality, and Ideology, Language, and Values. An anthology of 45 articles (Fishman, 33), each by a different author writing about the rapidly emerging area of the sociology of language, contains sections on language in small-group interaction, in social strata, plus a number of other categories that treat language as a cultural event. It will be surprising if this area, the sociology of language, does not become increasingly important to foreign language teachers.

Language and thought

Some years ago, Benjamin Lee Whorf (cf. Carroll, 17), citing the earlier work of Sapir (90; also in Mandelbaum, 68), theorized that the world-view of a speech community is reflected in the linguistic patterns they use. The implication was that the way "reality" is categorized in the underlying patterns of a language is an indication of how speakers of that language view the world; and, inversely, how they view the world depends on the language system they have. The proliferation of Eskimo words for snow, according to what was to become known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, reflects the importance snow has in Eskimo culture. Similar instances are the Trobriand Islanders' multiplicity of terms for yams, the basis of their economy, and the truckloads of terms to designate automobiles current in contemporary U.S. culture. Colors, kinship relations, perception of space and time, all differ from language to language and from culture to culture. The trick is to demonstrate an association between the two, language and culture. (It may be recalled that Whorf advocated contrasting languages such as Navaho and English, or French and Chinese, and not languages within the Indo-European family.) Off-the-cuff pronouncements on the relation between language and culture are the rule in language classes. The fact that the linguistic structure of some languages enables the speaker to become the object of the action ("the glass broke on me") instead of the subject of the action ("I broke the glass"), to take an example, does not in itself demonstrate the speaker of the first example to view nature as an active agent and man as a passive one. To draw a cognitive conclusion from purely linguistic data is to while away the hours in tautology. To legitimately draw a behavioral inference from an analysis of language structure it is necessary to empirically associate a language pattern with a behavioral pattern.

That the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has been accepted as truth by so many language teachers is an interesting exam-

ple of the tendency toward wish-fulfillment. The theory is exciting, there is some corroborative evidence (and, perhaps inevitably, a body of contradicting evidence also), the idea has been around long enough for most teachers to have forgotten its highly speculative nature, and, last, but not least, if the theory were true it would imbue language courses with new-found importance. Unfortunately, few writings by linguistic specialists are, at this stage in the science's struggle for respectability, comprehensible to most classroom language teachers, and few down-to-earth language teachers have shown enough familiarity with the linguistic literature. Consequently, our acceptance of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis must await either more empirical evidence or improved communication with linguists. Some of the fairly recent books that treat this area include Holijer (50), Carroll (17), Romney & D'Andrade (89), Gumperz & Hymes (46), Hammel (49), Hymes (53), Greenberg (45), Landar (64), Witucki (115), Mathiot (71), Manners & Kaplan (69), Fishman (33), and Niyekawa-Howard (75).

One probe by the writer (100) into the relation between language structure and cognitive preferences took three instances in Spanish where the speaker could choose either an active or passive linguistic form, then set up six different social situations and asked 50 Guatemalans to make a choice between the active and passive forms within the context of each situation. The writer tentatively concluded that contrary to popular belief (1) the Spanish passive may not be "generally preferred," (2) the passive is not used "to get rid of blame," but (3) the election of the passive depends on the context of the situation in a more complex way than usually has been acknowledged. This study reported, for example, that in some circumstances the sampled Guatemalans selected either the passive or active form to balance the verb forms when one or the other form had been exaggeratedly used. This level of linguistic preference is clearly stylistic and not cognitive. Other examples did, however, seem to exemplify cognitive preferences.

Another study effected a semantic comparison of Russian and English words, with the objective of "determining whether one language tends to operate at an overall level of abstraction which is either higher or lower than that of the other language" (Oppenheimer, 83). Oppenheimer selected a few English words at random and compared their level of abstraction—the extent to which details and characteristics are omitted—to their Russian counterparts.

He found that the English words generally appear to be at a higher level of abstraction than the corresponding Russian words. While Oppenheimer advances several interpretations and explanations of this, he is properly cautious about projecting any importance to the cognitive world of the speaker of either language. Articles of this type are productive in that they suggest hypotheses that a more controlled study might advantageously pursue.

The cultural nature of language

Dewey's famous essay, "My Pedagogic Creed" (28), appeared in an education journal in 1897. In it, Dewey observed that "language is almost always treated in the books of pedagogy simply as the expression of thought. It is true that language is a logical instrument, but it is fundamentally and primarily a social instrument." If language is "primarily a social instrument," how can it be divorced from the society that uses it? Writing over 70 years after Dewey, Chao (19) in his recent study of language emphasizes that "action and speech are thoroughly mixed." Chao further observes that language is not even usually in the form of connected discourse such as sentences, paragraphs, etc. (19, p. 112-133).

There is probably considerable correlation between linguistic change and social change. When for one reason or another members of one language community are forced to function either within or alongside another language, both their language and way of life inevitably change. Ilbek (54) offers an interesting discussion of the effect of English on the native language of the French-speaking minorities of the U. S. Ilbek gives examples of shifts of meaning caused by the presence of cognates in the language, direct borrowing of lexical items to designate new things, borrowing of patterns through translation, and borrowing of fixed forms directly or through translation. However, instead of using these data to arrive at insights into the nature of linguistic change or biculturalization, the author disappointingly concludes that "as teachers of French we are pledged to fight this kind of interference and to keep our language pure . . ." (54, p. 376).

Many teachers make this same mistake. While intrigued with the cultural implications of linguistic data, they get hung up on the *form* and fail to reach a cultural comprehension of the data beyond an assessment of its snob appeal. Despite two decades of descriptive linguistics, there is still much of the normative puritanism in our souls. Chao

correctly characterizes language when he says that "there is no complete uniformity in any speech community; there is always mixture of dialects in the same locality; there is class difference; there is difference in speech reflected by different personalities for the dialect or same class; above all, there is difference in style in the same individual" (19, p. 123). Chao adds that besides talking with people, and hearing them talk with you, one should *overhear* them talk among themselves to learn to understand the nonstandard dialects (19, p. 132—133).

Sensitivity training

Referring to West Indian children faced with learning Standard English in school, Jones (57) states that it is unscientific and detrimental to the mental health of the child to attempt to eradicate his home language. Jones suggests that teachers should strive to produce a student who can switch dialects as the situation demands.

Nonstandard dialects have been anathema to many language teachers. The writer recently visited a large school system containing many Mexican-American students, very few of whom were enrolled in any foreign language classes. When the language chairmen were asked why these Spanish-speaking students were not enrolled in advanced Spanish classes, the writer was told that they were poor language students who were not even able to do the work and pass the tests of beginning Spanish courses, let alone advanced classes. When the writer suggested that perhaps this was an indication that the "work" and the "tests" of the beginning Spanish classes had little relevancy to learning to communicate in the language, he was told that the home language of the students was dismally substandard and—to add insult to injury—the students militantly resisted being corrected. And what was the nature of these resisted corrections? In many cases, through ignorance of the wide variety of linguistic forms that educated people employ in the score or more of countries where Spanish is spoken, the teacher was simply incorrect in his statement that a given form was substandard. In other cases, where the form was definitely nonstandard, rather than instill pride in a student of humble origins who knows richly archaic forms—forms that Cervantes may have used—or forms that illustrate imaginative borrowing, the student was made to feel embarrassment because he did not know the comparatively lifeless form that the teacher had learned in some textbook. Minor differences in the way to pronounce

some words or sounds caused disproportionate friction between student and teacher. A cultured ex-student of the writer, and a native speaker of Spanish from Guatemala City, almost flunked a Spanish course at a large Midwestern university because the teacher "didn't like his accent." Many teachers seem to pounce on the mistakes, often minor, of their Puerto Rican or Mexican (or Pennsylvania German or French Canadian) students in "retribution" for the teacher's lack of ability to understand them. Sadly, even Mexican-American or native teachers are occasionally hostile toward these children who so much deserve sympathetic nurturing. The fact remains that after unsympathetic teachers have exhausted their repertoire of horror stories about the classroom performance of students who speak Spanish (or French or German) at home, there is still a strong correlation between the best students of a language and those who speak it at home (Carroll, 16, p. 137-138). Teachers who think that American students ignorant of the foreign language can learn it better than students who have been speaking it all their lives—in *whatever* dialect—need to have their goals examined. The testimony of Gaarder (35) before a Senate Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, and an article by Howe (51) on the education of minority groups, contain reasoned pleas for a sensitive and sensible approach to teaching children whose only claim to wealth rests with the rich culture their forebearers have passed on to them.

At the base of much of the tension between a student from an economically deprived background and a teacher who wears his college degree as a middle-class merit badge is a conflict of cultures. A manual has been prepared by an anthropologist, Burger (13), who suggests ways for teachers to increase their effectiveness with groups whose culture differs from the teacher's by first understanding better the student culture (relevant descriptions are presented of Mexican-Americans, Negroes, Pueblos, and Yankees), and then by applying certain values of that culture to the lesson one wants to teach. If, for example, the teacher desires to transmit the idea that "cleanliness is next to godliness," the teacher may find that the "unscrubbed masses" take meticulous care of their "wheels." Basing himself on the student-accepted value that bikes and cars should be washed frequently, the teacher would have a means to communicate cross-culturally on cleanliness, a matter of value belief. Burger's manual is a fine introduction to the type of sensitivity education that language teachers can appreciate.

Lawton (65) reviewed the psychological and anthropological literatures in the field in an attempt to assess the importance of linguistic differences that exist between various social groups. He then examined a sample of English working-class subjects who were identified as under-achievers in school and paid particular attention to their linguistic and cognitive processes, the latter especially as it related to the group's attitudes toward education. Lawton came to the conclusion that there was a great deal of evidence to support the view that an inadequacy of linguistic range and control is a very important and definitive factor in scholastic underachievement, that the linguistic difficulties these underachieving groups have are closely related to wider questions of motivation and culture, and in order to widen the student's control over language the social structure of the school must change considerably to admit greater possibilities of developing new role-relations (65, p. 156—158). While Lawton sees legitimacy in the schools' attempts to transform their pupils into middle-class children, he makes the suggestion that teachers should become more sensitive to the kind of analysis that would enable them to distinguish in the so-called middle-class culture what is of cognitive importance and do away with everything that is irrelevant to the educational process (65, p. 159). Among the "trivial" aspects of middle-class culture Lawton mentions "etiquette and social conventions."

While there are cultural advantages to be gained from retaining and even emphasizing subcultural linguistic and behavioral patterns in foreign language classes, care should be taken to develop courses that interest students who come from language and cultural traditions other than the target one. When a language course largely attracts students whose parents or grandparents are or were native speakers of the language, the drawing power of that language often suffers after the first or second generation passes, e.g., Polish, Yiddish, Swedish. Fishman (32) reports there are more teachers and students of Italian whose near ancestors were native speakers of the language taught than that of any other commonly taught language in the U.S. However, he also sees two distressing trends. On the one hand, lower enrollment is anticipated as fewer students associate themselves with their ethnic past, and, on the other hand, as Italian teachers lose their familiarity with their regional language and customs, the cultural content of Italian courses is bound to weaken. Thus there is a constant challenge for all language teachers to reassess the role of culture in their courses.

Activities and materials for achieving cultural Communication and understanding

There are a number of reasons why foreign language classes often omit the teaching of culture. Debyser (25, Part 1) mentions lack of time, the idea that language and culture are one and the same, the belief that students will get it later, and the view of language as a communication skill divorced from social concerns. Debyser rejects these reasons. Cultural concepts must be implemented by specific measures in the classroom if they are to be taught. While many teachers see culture as merely providing the background to matters of linguistic concern—for example, using a trip to the market or a visit with a French family to introduce new vocabulary or structural patterns—he points out that unless this is very well done one should not put great hope in the efficacy of this method (25, p. 24).

There is much the teacher interested in culturally meaningful language commonly accomplishes by insistence on authentic speech patterns and dialogue situations, by describing the cultural significance of words and phrases and gestures, by teaching the songs, games, rhymes, and popular maxims of the culture, and by discussing some of its main themes. Opportunities for cultural instruction often overlooked are listed by Brooks (11, p. 82—96) in the form of specific questions pertaining to some 64 different topics. Questions such as: "In what ways are age, provenance, social status, academic achievement, degree of formality, interpersonal relations, aesthetic concern, personality, reflected in . . . speech?" "What common words or expressions in English have direct equivalents that are not tolerated in the new culture, and vice versa?" "What objects are often found decorating the bureau and walls of a young person's bedroom?" "What careers have strong appeal for the young?" Other sources for the teacher interested in culture include Lado's excellent book (61), and the listing of source materials by Chamberlain (18).

Specifying instructional objectives

Before a teacher can begin to select techniques to teach cultural understanding he must know what *specific* cultural objectives he wants to reach. Objectives of communication and understanding should be dealt with separately, and not lumped together in some all-embracing supergoal. Each set of goals should probably include specific objectives relating to recognition of cultural patterns, comprehension of how patterns function as an interrelated system of mutually supportive forms, an appreciation of how

strange or novel patterns work—and consequently are valued—in the target culture, and a sympathetic interest in members of the target culture. General assistance in designing realistic objectives of any type is available in Mager (67). After deciding on the particular set of cultural goals he wants to teach, the instructor must then modify techniques to suit the interests and maturity of his students, keeping in mind the materials available to him. Since maturity levels generally correspond to the traditional designations of primary school, middle school, high school, college, and graduate school, some sort of cooperative division of labor with a view to minimizing costly duplication of effort and to maximizing an intelligent articulation from language level to language level is obviously desirable.

Defining cultural levels

Divisions can be made along several lines, depending upon one's understanding of the learning process. If the theory that any concept can be taught at any level is credited, then the methodological task becomes one of identifying examples and exercises that are at a level readily understandable by a given age group to illustrate the concepts. If, on the other hand, it is believed that effective teaching of a concept depends on assessing its difficulty and then presenting it to an age group that has reached the requisite level of maturity to comprehend it, then the problem becomes one of arranging cultural concepts into a hierarchy of relative complexity. Certainly how a concept is presented to a student will depend on his maturity and educational background. An eclectic scheme that suggests which cultural items are to be presented at various sequential levels was developed by a 1968 committee of the Pacific Northwest Conference on Foreign Language Teaching (Nostrand, 79). The committee, chaired by Nostrand, based its efforts on the previous work of Ladu (62).

The committee's report calls for both behavioral and verbal responses to cultural stimuli at the first level. The student is expected on Level I (a level does not necessarily equal a year) to demonstrate physically how to behave in a number of situations including greetings, introductions, leave-taking, eating, and conduct "toward persons of one's own and of higher social status." Likewise, he must also be able to describe in English two or more common leisure-time activities of adolescents in the foreign society, as well as to learn a poem and some songs. Some minor adaptations to this proposal for Level I could easily be made to

accommodate integration of pre-adolescent FLES (foreign language in the elementary school) programs into the outline. Of course, students beginning study of a foreign language in secondary school will miss the enriching substance of the riddles, games, songs, rhymes, and the way the child of the target culture views his world; students beginning language study at more advanced ages will miss "adolescent culture" as well. On the other hand, much of "adult culture" awaits the persevering curiosity of the developing student, not because a secondary student lacks the intellectual capacity for understanding the preoccupations of the middle-aged and over, but because he is justifiably more interested in his own concerns.

A practical elaboration of the proposed standards for cultural levels is developed in the committee's outline for Level II. Here, two sets of standards are presented: a "minimal standard" and a "desirable standard." Since some schools will be able to teach more than others no matter how uniformly definitions of levels are drawn, it seems wise to elaborate ambitious standards that superior programs are encouraged to cover in addition to minimal standards that any accredited language program should cover. Somewhat disappointingly, however, neither minimal nor desirable activities on Level II require the student to do anything on a nonverbal level. The student is asked to "state orally" insights into literature, the family, education, cultural themes, etc. Although this verbal activity is to be accomplished in the target language, the proposed standards do not show enough awareness of the many language-connected ways in which the language reflects the culture, such as nonlinguistic cultural referents necessary to understanding the spoken word dialect variations, and ability to follow disconnected discourse. Nor do the proposals imaginatively explore the realm of nonverbal cultural skills. The standards display some bias in expecting children to understand a relatively small segment of most countries, "a middle-class person of the foreign society." Many American children might prefer to identify with another class segment of the target culture. (An age bias also found in the outline seems pedagogically more justifiable.) Another class bias is evident in the statement that one should learn how to conduct oneself "toward persons of one's own and of higher social status." When are we going to learn to talk with most of the world's inhabitants, the poor?

While the most detailed sections of both Levels II and III use literature to illustrate the main cultural themes, with Level III the social structure belatedly receives more direct attention beyond the previous emphasis on the family and educational systems. Level IV outlines more balanced expectations but it is very briefly developed. A discussion of how literature can be effectively used to illustrate cultural aspects of a society was published earlier by Nostrand (80). It might be noted at this point that any instruction that requires the use of English can be taken care of in homework, more or less in programmed form, so as not to interfere with the virtually exclusive practice of the foreign language during class time.

Cultural themes

Nostrand (77) has been instrumental in developing a conceptual model of those aspects of a foreign culture to which language teachers could most profitably devote their talents. He proposes that the essentials of the target cultural system be organized under headings of a structured inventory which he calls the "Emergent Model." In it, some 30 headings are grouped under the four large rubrics of the Culture, the Society, the Individual, and the Ecology. One of the strengths of this inventory is that it is an outgrowth of integrating Murdock's famous anthropological inventory (74) with the priorities of the language classroom.

Nostrand's Emergent Model

- I. *The Culture*.—value system, ethos, assumptions about reality, verifiable knowledge, art forms, language, paralanguage, and kinesics.
- II. *The Society*.—organized under institutions: familial, religious, economic-occupational, political and judicial, educational, intellectual-aesthetic, recreational, communications, social proprieties, stratification and mobility, conflict and conflict resolution.
- III. *The Individual*.—integration of the personality, organismic level, intrapersonal and interpersonal valuation, status by age and sex.
- IV. *The Ecology*.—attitudes toward nature, exploitation of nature, use of natural products, technology, settlements and territorial organization, travel and transportation.

Nostrand suggests that this organization of the life style into four component systems can best be taught by organizing the substance of a given life style under its main theme—a theme being a value that is more fully defined in

terms of its underlying assumptions and applications in human relations, personality structure, and interaction with the physical and subhuman environment.

Applying Nostrand's Emergent Model to the French and Hispanic cultures, Ladu (63) has developed a highly commendable book appropriately titled *Teaching for Cross-Cultural Understanding*. In this work she interprets many of the cultural aspects of each of the four major categories of the Emergent Model. An informative discussion of the thematic approach to cultural understanding, along with an analysis of the major themes of North India, was effected by the sociologist Opler (82). Mathiot (71) draws a distinction between those aspects of the cognitive system that are reflected in language and those reflected in nonlinguistic behavior. Consequently, she separates themes of the language from themes of the culture. This study infers the themes of language (Uto-Aztecan) by relating the semantic distinctive features of a given aspect of language to a postulated underlying concept found in the related cognitive contents.

A detailed description of how songs may provide the basis for illustrating the main themes of a culture is presented by Damoiseau & Marc (24). The authors pass over the two most frequent uses to which songs are subjected in language classes (as a literary text for linguistic analysis or as a vehicle for the study of the target poetry) in favor of a cultural objective: the different aspects of the daily life of the target culture as illustrated in song. Compositions should be selected from writers who are involved with the daily life of the target society as seen through their thesis songs of social commentary. The main social problem treated in the song would be the first concern of the class. A linguistic analysis of the coexistence of both urban and more traditional vocabulary with a view to illustrating the direction of social change is suggested by the authors. They make the suggestion that each thematic point could itself be carefully illustrated by a series of slides that show, for instance, the effect of urbanization of life on the target culture. Damoiseau & Marc also expand in considerable detail how lesson plans can be developed on this principle. The examples, as is the language of the article, are French.

Semiotic analysis

The methodological apparatus of semiotics, the study of signs, is suggested by Beaujour & Ehrmann (5) as a means to systematically analyze the extralinguistic cultural referents found in "newspapers, movies, recordings of all

kinds... interviews, confessions, dialogues, opinion polls, etc." They suggest limiting the time scope to be studied to "signs" found in sources of the last 10 or 15 years, although earlier events may be analyzed if they appear in contemporary productions. Referents to linguistic units (ethnosemes) and nonlinguistic or paralinguistic behavioral signs (what the writer [98, p. 35] calls "ethnomorphs") are both grist for a semiotic analysis. The authors give examples of two analyses in French, the first bases itself on data secured via interview, the second on data obtained from a magazine advertisement.

In the first example, a "young person" is asked: "Are you a nationalist?" The authors then psychologically interpret the paragraph or so of oral reply in terms of a cultural determinist frame. They conclude that the informant used nationalism to compensate for individual inadequacies. The second example takes an ad for a vacation club as raw material for semiotic analysis. Through the choice of words and pictorial associations, the ad embodies a composite of paradisiacal values (happiness, freedom from want, liberty) strengthened by pictures that can be identified with the basic values (sun, sea, fish, bather). The simple vacation life is contrasted to the frenzy of industrial life: civilized self versus natural self. Step by step the student is led to understand the cultural referent of each term and picture, and then allowed to see how the fragmented parts illustrate a larger basic theme of the target culture.

When to begin teaching culture

Cultural instruction should begin with the first week of the first year of language learning. There is no need to wait for any linguistic fluency to use culturally authentic pictures and objects to illustrate aspects of the foreign culture. On the first day of class students are usually taught some form of greeting. To be culturally authentic, the greeting should use the forms the students would use in the target culture, or forms that the clearly identified roles the students are asked to assume would use. Graphic illustrations of the target people engaged in greetings are utilized—not nondescript stick figures, but real-looking people from the foreign culture, be they tall, dark, and handsome, or short, white, and ugly. It is desirable to have the students recognize, from the way a person greets another, whether that person is addressing a social equal or whether he is showing deference, where the speaker comes from, whether he is indicating his social class background in the greeting he has chosen or in the way he pronounces

it, and whether he is conveying any special information through his intonation (the suprasegmental phonemic structure).

Helpful materials to aid the FLES teacher develop cultural understanding in her students are described in Donoghue's book (30). There are lists of films, filmstrips, pictures, slides, tapes, foreign language radio programs, periodicals, both teacher's and children's books in English about the target culture, and sources of pen and tape pals, which the teacher of French, German, or Spanish can utilize in classes. Bishop (9) describes games and lists verses and songs of interest to the FLES student of Spanish. An annotated guide pertaining to instructional materials for teaching about Latin America is available in Gill & Conroy (39). A similar guide for the secondary school teacher was prepared by the same editors (40); they have also prepared a critique of the treatment of Latin America in social studies sources (41). Chamberlain (18) has gathered together source materials that teachers of various languages can utilize.

Illustrations

Some texts are much more adept than others at portraying culturally authentic situations. Many contain mostly pictures of the kind a travel bureau might want displayed at a tea party. Churches, a few tall buildings, a "quaint" Indian or peasant, pretty girls in regional costumes, inspiring mountains and sunsets on the horizon all absorb the space that could be used to display people in social interaction. Many texts fail to integrate the illustrations with the book's content. Illustrated magazines from the foreign country, especially if several periodicals appealing to different social classes are included, afford an excellent and inexpensive way to bring the foreign people into the classroom.

Illustrations chosen with some care can be an important source in conditioning students to react familiarly to situations that affect language use in the target culture. Much of the latitude of communication, both interpersonal and intergroup, is determined by the person's social class background. The teacher can assist students in recognizing the signs that the target culture considers indicators of social class by asking questions such as: Which people in this picture seem to be visiting the city from a rural area? Would this girl's occupation be that of a maid or of a secretary? Aside from the wrinkles on their faces, how can you tell the older men from the younger? While few texts available for use in Spanish, Portuguese, or French classes

indicate an awareness of the presence of the Negro in the life or literature of their countries, use of popular magazines can help the teacher overcome this regrettable void. Some urban ghetto schools have found it profitable to begin foreign language instruction with culturally oriented pictures. The illustrations are used as a point of departure for discussions in English about the target peoples. As interest and curiosity are awakened, the instructor begins to teach the students words and phrases that are relevant to their interests. Thus, little by little, the initial cultural emphasis shifts in favor of linguistic considerations.

Four categories of audiovisual materials are mentioned by Nostrand (76): the still picture, the sound film, the sound alone, the silent motion picture. Using the Emergent Model as a construct of the cultural universe to be taught in foreign language courses, Nostrand gives examples of the kind of audiovisual material that can be employed to illustrate the various aspects of the target society. To illustrate the expressive art form of folk humor, for example, stills or brief motion pictures showing various types of humor might be employed. A multimedia approach to courtship and marriage, childhood and birthdays, education, recreation, religion, old age, and death in Mexico has been prepared by Savaiano & Archundia (92) as a culture unit for the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP).

Contextual notes

Another common technique for teaching nonlinguistic cultural referents (what the concept of "progress" means to a Latin American, for example) involves the explanation of a cultural item in a note within the text. Perhaps the best example of this is found in the *Condorito* materials for Spanish classes (Extracurricular Programs, University Station; Provo, Utah). *Condorito* is the hero of a Chilean comic strip who frequently voices utterances that the textbook-oriented Spanish teacher often "overlooks" in his classes. Also badly needed are sophisticated studies of the cultural referents to the most common words and expressions of each popularly taught language. Studies of cultural referents that indicate the age, sex, place of residence, and social class of the speaker of the target language are as yet nonexistent.

Gestures

An introduction to French gestures is available in two articles (Brault, 10; Nostrand, 77, section I.F.2). Green's

gesture inventory of Spain (44) should help Spanish teachers create an authentic and animated cultural backdrop for their classes. The AATSP has developed a unit on gestures that includes 35 color slides and taped commentary in either English or Spanish, available to members (Canfield, 15).

Culture capsules

The usefulness of an article by Taylor & Sorenson (108) is attested to by its recent reappearance as a reprint. The article suggests that teachers prepare brief "culture capsules" for presentation during the last five or ten minutes of a class period. (Students could just as well prepare the capsules themselves.) The authors stress that the subject of the capsules should contrast one minimal difference between the culture of the U.S. and the foreign country. They suggest the text of each capsule be illustrated and that questions be directed to the class after the formal presentation. A theoretical matrix of some detail is presented, based on Mexican culture, which would be adaptable to any culture.

The Taylor & Sorenson (108) and the Beaujour & Ehrmann (5) insistence on contrasting the cultural elements of the native and target countries appears to differ markedly from the Nostrand proposal that "the first three Levels should avoid contrastive analysis as far as practicable, in order to assure first that the learner overcomes the ethnocentric view of the foreign as eccentric . . ." (79, p. 22). While it is certainly desirable to avoid having students view the foreign culture as eccentric, perhaps what Nostrand's article refers to is the problem of determining the *level* of contrast. It is important to present the view that what the target individual does make sense, that the efficacy of a given cultural pattern depends on how it fits into the complex whole of a culture. When the teacher takes everyday examples of target life and tells the class that "we do it this way, but they do it that way," he is doing the culture a disservice. One should not lose sight of just what the functional significance of a behavioral pattern is in terms of a more abstract value or theme. Getting inside, cognitively speaking, another value system is a difficult matter. Singer (104) argues that one can never understand another culture in its own terms, but always "through the eyes of the observer . . . Every effort at understanding another culture involves an interaction between one's own culture and that other culture" (104, p. 21).

Folklore

The stimulating articles by Morain (72) and Campa (14) have already been mentioned. Campa observes that the refinements of civilization provide to some extent a common ground for international communication because culture in this sense is a common denominator for a small segment of the peoples of the world, but seldom do such refinements provide an understanding of what makes a Spaniard, a Peruvian, or a Mexican a distinct and individual personality. The folk song, however, from Spain to Argentina, not only reveals what Hispanic people sing about but also why they sing (14, p. 1—2). Morain (72, p. 680—681) explains that most folk materials are ideally suited for the language class. "Tales and legends are usually short. Even the student who grasps the foreign text slowly can read a selection at one sitting without losing the full impact of the terror, the sly smirk, or the guffaw that the original teller intended to arouse. The style is often conversational, providing examples of natural dialogue that can be easily converted into skits by the students, or reworked into oral drills for teaching grammatical structures." The author goes on to exhort the teacher interested in using folklore materials in his classroom to make two stipulations: "The materials used should be authentic, not watered-down 'fakelore'; and they should be used to present valid cultural themes, not generalizations that are more picturesque than profitable." While folk materials designed especially for the language class have usually taken the form of brief verbal vignettes, the AATSP has prepared an illustrated unit on the folk arts of Mexico (Savaiano & Archundia, 91).

Simulation

An especially exciting technique for teaching an understanding of the complex way decisions affect the interaction of different forces in a society is to assign different students specific roles (labor leader, student, large land owner, military officer, etc.) and then to introduce the role players to a problem they react to. A book on simulation by Scott, Lucas, & Lucas (94) discusses four different types: (1) simulation of the developmental processes of a hypothetical nation ("Simuland"); (2) simulation of an actual developing nation (Brazil) in terms of its politico-economic conditions; (3) simulation of a political system (Chile) where neither the goals nor the key issues were specified; and (4) simulation of an urban (Durham, N.C.) political system. A simulation of a Latin American *golpe de estado* was demonstrated at a National Defense Education Act

workshop in 1968, and an article briefly (and somewhat technically) describing this was published (Parker, Smith, & Whithed, 84). Political scientists have been foremost in developing simulation as a pedagogical technique, but language teachers are beginning to follow their example. Gomez (43) discusses the usefulness of simulation in what he calls "the total immersion approach." Gomez also suggests the construction of a plywood chamber for stimulus presentation and response reinforcement based on various experimental contingencies. The contingencies would focus primarily upon a number of problem and conflict situations and would lend itself to the utilization of concepts and techniques from "games theory" (43, p. 303). Gomez does not detail either the hardware or software components of such a teaching device.

Language laboratory type and culture

Mueller & Wiersma (73), in an article entitled "The Effects of Language Laboratory Type upon Cultural Orientation Scores of Foreign Language Students," describe an empirically-based study. Unfortunately, while the study's sample size in the various categories was a healthy 637—691 students, the conclusions the investigators were able to draw are not helpful. They conclude that the cultural attitudes of students were better (i.e., more favorably disposed toward Germans or French or Spanish) where students did not have recording facilities in the lab. There were too many variables to enable the investigators to tell why this was so. One variable, for example, was that the nonrecording group studied an average of two hours less per week than the recording group (?). Slight positive correlations (.20 to .50) between disenchantment with one's own culture (anomie) and fondness for the target culture (phylophilia) were reported.

Student research-directed activities

Some examples of how to develop in students the skill of "finding out" about people and places have been given by the writer elsewhere (99). One suggestion is that students develop bibliographic indexes relevant to a problem of importance, and that they be taught to skim the material in a search for answers to pertinent questions that the student has formulated with the help of the teacher. It is of relatively little importance what particular problem is chosen since the general skills in delimiting topics and doing background research are common to most problems. The intrinsic motivation of the student who defines a problem

within his own area of interest will lead him to other areas of intrigue. Thus, eventually an integrated understanding of the target culture may emerge.

Travel and study abroad

Perhaps the most powerful technique the teacher can marshal to increase the student's knowledge of the foreign culture and language is for the teacher to inspire, cajole, threaten, or bribe the student into spending some time abroad. Carroll's study speaks of the development of language skills when it reported the following findings, but its implications for the study of culture are not difficult to envision:

Time spent abroad is clearly one of the most potent variables we have found, and this is not surprising, for reasons that need not be belabored. Certainly our results provide a strong justification for a "year abroad" as one of the experiences to be recommended for the language majors. Even a tour abroad, or a summer school course abroad, is useful, apparently, in improving the student's skill. The obverse of this finding may be rather humbling for the foreign language teaching profession; those who do *not* go abroad do not seem to be able to get very far in their foreign language study, on the average, despite the ministrations of foreign language teachers, language laboratories, audiolingual methods, and the rest" (16, p. 137, italics removed).

Of utmost interest to language teachers is a knowledge of the factors that affect a student's adjustment to a foreign culture. Many of these factors will be outside a teacher's area of influence—personality traits, reception in the host country, health considerations, etc.—but others will suggest ways that the classroom experience can be made more meaningful to cross-cultural understanding.

One study concluded that males and females "have similar attitudes toward associating with members of other ethnic groups" (Zaidi, 117, p. 105). On the darker side, however, the investigator reported that his sample of elite Pakistani university students exhibited considerable reluctance to live with non-Muslim, non-Asiatic groups. (They were especially reluctant to associate with Russians, Indians, British, and Americans; however, they rather liked the idea, comparatively speaking, of associating with Germans.) Whether the sample would actually behave in accordance with their attitudes was not evaluated. A study by Becker shows that the attitudes both to the home and host country in the initial phase of adjustment are a function of

the social and cultural distance between the United States and the home country: the greater the distance, the greater are the difficulties of adjustment to the new environment, both because of the student's own reaction to the sociocultural gap and because of the reaction of others to his being different (6, p. 439).

Yousef (116, p. 231), in an article on cross-cultural testing, discusses mistakes students made on multiple-choice tests that resulted not so much from misunderstanding the target culture as from mistrusting it and unconsciously refusing to endow the target culture with any shreds of similarity to the native culture. Yousef calls this phenomenon "the resistance reaction." The author goes on to suggest that one of the reasons for this repressed resentment may have been "that in many situations where Americans and Middle-Easterners intermingled, the social intercourse often backfired because of cultural conflict." Unless a student is favorably disposed toward a language and its culture, little learning can occur (116, p. 233). He concludes his article by saying: "Overcoming cultural prejudices must therefore be a major aim of language teaching."

Gezi (37) studied 62 Middle-Eastern students in 11 colleges in California and found that:

- 1 There was a highly significant association (.001) between the students' pre-arrival attitudes toward the U.S. and their subsequent adjustment.
- 2 While the length of time the students had spent in the U.S. was not significantly associated with their adjustment, the amount of interaction they had experienced with Americans was found to be significantly associated with their adjustment.
- 3 The association between "the students' perceptions of how Americans rated the students' homelands and their adjustment in the United States" was significant.
- 4 The students' success in college and their adjustment to the U.S. reached a highly significant level of association.

The implication is clear: a teacher should try to impart a sympathetic view of the target culture. One such attempt was reported by Choldin (20). She describes a cooperative program sponsored by the Chicago Board of Education and the University of Illinois Circle Campus where summer day houses have been set up to accommodate city children who volunteer for the program. Much of the value of this summer instruction is seen in the cultural enrichment it offers the children. A recent study conducted by Gardner &

Taylor investigated the effect of message content and social pressure on attitude toward a member of stereotyped group. One of the study's conclusions states that when a subject is provided with more information about the target person than mere group identification he will tend to make use of this information even though his stereotype about the ethnic group influences his ratings (36, p. 275). There is empirical encouragement, then, to hope that a person's attitude toward a member of another culture can be positively affected by providing the student with the right kind of information.

The desirability of gaining easy access to a fund of cultural information collected through international cooperation is expounded by van Willigen (113). Several somewhat theoretical studies of difficulties obstructing international communication due to the noncorrespondence of linguistic forms from one language to another are developed from the viewpoint of the philosopher (Cohen, 22), the social scientist (van Loon, 112; Singer, 104), and the social psychologist (Szalay & Brent, 106).

By way of concluding this section, Decaigny (27) emphasizes the necessity of rethinking basic objectives of cultural study. He also stresses the desirability of employing a multimedia approach in the realization of cultural objectives. To prevent even a multimedia approach from becoming routine, the author says, it should be used experimentally.

Measuring cultural achievement

The present state of affairs with culture tests is especially appalling. The endemic absence of behaviorally-stated culture objectives in written courses of study is symptomatic of an ignorance of the role of culture in foreign language classes. How does one know when an objective has been reached if it has not been stated in measurable terms? If the objectives of a program of study are to be inferred from the areas that are tested, then we must conclude that there is little sincere interest in teaching about culture in foreign language classrooms. Even if the purpose of testing is viewed solely as a device to enable teachers to evaluate how they themselves are doing with culture, the conclusion is inescapable that teachers do not know how they are doing. How can they know? The few tests of the target culture that do get administered largely contain items of fact whose authenticity is often suspect and whose relevancy to objectives of cross-cultural com-

munication and understanding is usually tenuous. Some large projects charged with developing curricular materials in the area of a foreign culture have consciously avoided responsibility for test development because of the controversy over what to test and the lack of knowledge of how to test.

What to test

The abstract objectives of cross-cultural communication and understanding are too general to be of much utility in devising individual questions (items) for a test of culture. The writer has, on a former occasion (97, p. 32), suggested seven questions that the teacher could profitably ask himself in regard to tests of culture:

- 1 To what extent is the cultural pattern evident to a [member of the target culture]? (Does it represent an implicit or explicit pattern?)
- 2 To what social, sex, residential, and age groups would the pattern apply?
- 3 Are the limitations implied in the above two questions reflected in the way the item is worded?
- 4 [What documentation has the teacher required to back up the "right" answer?]
- 5 Is the answer to the question either too difficult or too facile for the intended testees?
- 6 What is the pedagogical justification for testing the item?
- 7 Can the item be recast to test a skill rather than a fact?

The list can be extended to include other important considerations:

- 8 Exactly what kind of communication is to be tested?
- 9 What specific cultural referents are to be included in the test?
- 10 To what extent is understanding to be measured in terms of an abstract comprehension of major cultural themes and to what extent is it to be measured in terms of knowledge of how to function in the target culture?
- 11 What specific themes or "functional" situations are to be included in the test?
- 12 If test items from a number of different objectives are to be included in the same test, in what proportion is each to be represented?
- 13 Does each item measure just one cultural element?
- 14 Does test achievement indicate knowledge of the target culture or does achievement depend mostly

on some extraneous skill such as language or reading ability, general intelligence, or imitating the opinions of the teacher?

15 Can the test be objectively evaluated?

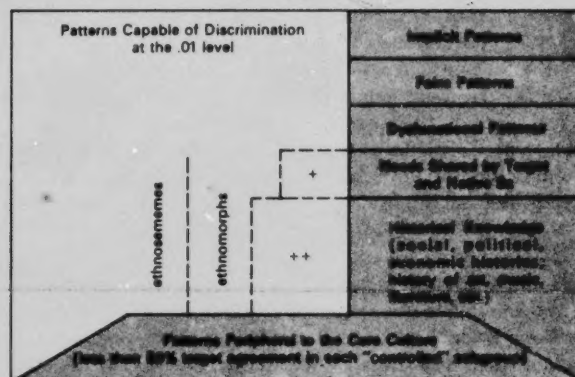
16 Are attitudes that are conducive to cross-cultural understanding measured?

17 Will the items be stated in English or in the target language? (See No. 14 above.)

These questions are not meant, of course, to be either exhaustive or especially systematic, but are presented as examples of the type of question that can be asked by teachers interested in improving the content of their culture tests.

The designer of a cross-cultural test begins by defining his specific objectives. He then proceeds to elaborate on the various areas of culture that bear upon the stated objectives. This elaboration consists of mapping out the thematic character of the "universe" of relevant test items. Will the test objectives support items concerned with art and literature, for example? Will the items have to be tied directly to linguistic units? The most common items appearing on culture tests can be correctly answered by a superficial familiarity with geographical and historical facts. A few of these items have a certain practical value, since ignorance of elementary toponyms and history tends to provoke resentment in the target culture-bearer. (The writer asked the local telephone operator for assistance in calling Guatemala City, and she responded, "That's in Mexico, isn't it?") However, most test items should probe more revealing areas of the culture.

One report (Seelye, 98) of a testing program designed to measure the biculturation of the American colony in Guatemala divides test items into two major categories: (1) items that are associated with the ability to function in a society, and (2) items that measure knowledge not significantly associated with functioning in the society. Falling into the latter category are items based on abstract patterns of which the native is not aware (implicit patterns), erudite academic knowledge, and patterns for which there is not wide concordance in the target culture (patterns peripheral to the core culture). In addition, ideal patterns of belief that, in reality, do not occur frequently (false patterns), and patterns that present a cultural anomaly in that they deviate from a major value of the culture (dysfunctional patterns), should probably be avoided unless they are clearly identified in the test as anomalous pat-



White Area: Patterns to be included in the test universe.
Shaded Area: Patterns to be excluded from the test universe.

+ products of cultural mislearning or other such factors leading native subjects (Ss) to expect a contrastive pattern where one does not exist.

++ historical knowledge which fulfills two requisites: (1) general agreement among target Sa from native Sa. That is, knowledge which is part of the popular culture, as opposed to the shaded portion representing knowledge which is associated with the upper intellectual classes.

terns. The ability to use the target cultural patterns to satisfy societal conventions can be measured through items based on the folklore (popular culture), and patterns, in general that have been shown to differentiate empirically the cultural stranger and the target native (discrimination at the .01 level). The figure (taken from 98, p. 38) suggests graphically what general areas should be excluded from the content of a test that attempts to measure the ability to function in a second culture.

Ultimately, of course, the answer to the question of what to test in the classroom is that the teacher tests what he professes to teach. Sometimes, to be sure, it is difficult to test directly an intangible such as "understanding" and one has to test something more specific that is but indirectly associated with the real objective of the test. Ideally, a wide range of cultural skills and knowledge would be the object of systematic testing in the foreign language classroom.

How to test

An instructive, succinct discussion of the preparation of instructional objectives—the key to good testing—is

provided by Mager (67). An example that language teachers may find suggestive of the development of test questions from specific student-oriented objectives can be found in a set of materials developed by the Anthropological Curriculum Study Project under the direction of Malcolm Collier (ACSP, 2, p. 77—91). The multimedia materials concern the teaching of a social studies unit on prehistory, and the accompanying booklet is called *History as Culture Change: An Overview*. An example, for instance, can be taken from the unit that seeks to develop student ability to interpret evidence in the area of early human societies. The Bushman culture is studied via filmstrips, site maps, readings, etc. A number of specific student objectives are identified: "Use imagination and evidence to make inferences about Bushman way of life"; "Identify factual evidence to support an inference"; "Challenge others' inferences if evidence or reasoning suggests an alternative inference"; etc. For the last of the three mentioned objectives, several measurement techniques are suggested. "One way of assessing this objective is to keep a record during regular class of which students do challenge others' inferences." Another way to test the objective is by presenting the student with a question such as: "The Kalahari Bushmen eat only meat and other animal products. Can you tell by what evidence this is known?" The proper student reaction to this question would be to challenge the statement and give contrary evidence, e.g., nutshells (2, p. 82).

Another example, taken from the unit on "Culture as Adaptation to Complex Social Systems: Peasants," asks the student to study a sheet of dialogue typical of a peasant (examples from India and Italy are given). The class is divided into thirds, and each is assigned a different situation. One student from each group is selected to play the role of peasant and another the role of outsider. "First they read given lines, then ad lib as long as they can, trying to say kinds of things (and in a manner) typical of part played." The student-oriented objective of this is: "Recognize two or more ways in which peasants usually adapt to outsiders and persons who control their lives and explain how they are adaptive: close-knit family, deference, shrewdness, caution, suspicion, humble appearance" (2, p. 52). The following test item (2, p. 90) is suggested for measuring achievement of the student objective:

Suppose a stranger entered a peasant village and told the first man he met that he was a new government offi-

cial whose duty was to help the villagers find better ways to farm their land. Which of the following reactions would you expect from the peasant? (Choose three)

- ☐ Asking the stranger for his credentials
- ☐ Claiming that he already had the best farming methods in the village
- ☒ Showing a lot of respect for the stranger's authority
- ☐ Inviting the stranger home for dinner
- ☒ Caution in answering the official's questions
- ☐ Volunteering information about how lucky the village had been in its crops recently
- ☒ Appearing interested in the official's advice on farming

Other examples of different test formats can be found in Lado (60), Valette (111), and Seelye (97). These foreign language teachers seem to prefer objective, multiple-choice techniques. One example, given by the writer (96, p. 81), which was not successful because women tended to answer it differently than did men, is offered below:

A pretty young woman is waiting for a bus on a busy street corner [in Guatemala City]. A man comes up behind her and pinches her. She would:

- a tolerate it, but only during carnival time
- b call a policeman any time of the year
- c laugh and feel proud
- d pretend nothing had happened so people would not notice

(Guatemalan men answered d while women checked b.)

The problem of controlling the cultural boundaries of a pattern, as the above example illustrates, was dealt with in the same article. The following conclusions were drawn:

In developing a cross-cultural test which evaluates an American's knowledge of target cultural patterns by asking him to recognize patterns which target subjects generally identify as native, there is a need to pretest the questions with both target and American groups. Pretesting with target subjects avoids the pitfall of including patterns which masquerade as native when in reality they are not widely recognized as common behavior by the target natives. Pretesting Americans who are igno-

rant of the target culture assists in identifying questions which discriminate knowledge of the target patterns rather than general intelligence. Additional pretesting in countries within the same cultural family as the target culture facilitates identification of those questions which discriminate knowledge of the specific target (sub-) culture (Guatemala) from those which test recognition of a more universal culture (Latin America). While age and residence controls were forced upon us by circumstance, it was thought desirable to control for the variables of sex and social class. By controlling for these factors it was possible to select those questions which were answered alike by the target natives, regardless of sex or social class, thus minimizing the test biases (96, p. 85).

A critique of the rationale contained in this article (96) was prepared by Upshur (110). Upshur questions the consistency with which the writer developed test items that were cross-culturally contrastive to the cultural patterns of the American student. The writer's rejoinder is available (98).

Whenever a test item goes much beyond the "What is the capital of France" level, methods of item validation become important. Besides the technique described in the preceding paragraph, which would be unwieldy to apply to the classroom, and the frequently abused technique of using the classroom authority of the teacher, the writer has suggested that the students pay particular attention to evaluating the authority of experts. A scoring system to grade the level of authority of a report is presented (97, p. 30) that takes into consideration such variables as source proximity, length of time spent in the target culture, explicitness of the report, and familiarity with the language. Unfortunately, the evaluative system suggested needs more development for it to be really practical.

It is especially difficult to test attitudes since we are not certain which attitudes are relevant to cultural understanding. Furthermore, sophisticated testing in this area is limited by the availability of sociological and psychological tests. Shaw & Wright (102) have prepared a compendium of attitudinal scales, along with examples and evaluations of each. There are sections devoted to the nature of attitudes, methods of scale construction, social practices, social issues and problems, international issues, abstract concepts, political and religious attitudes, ethnic and national groups, and social institutions.

Finally, there are some excellent sources prepared by language teachers to assist the teacher in the technical aspects of test construction. A wonderfully succinct (37 pages) introduction to teacher-made tests is available free from the Educational Testing Service in Princeton (Diederich, 29). Lado's book (60, p. 275—298) on language testing contains two chapters of interest to readers of this section. Valette's testing manual (111, p. 163—167) also briefly mentions cultural testing.

An overview

Nostrand (78) began his excellent 1966 article by observing that "enlightened language teaching today shows gratifying progress in all its component parts except one: the teaching of the foreign cultural context." While the intervening years have seen the advent of a number of encouraging publications, the profession is still probably some years away from substantially changing Nostrand's sobering pronouncement.

The most widely accepted usage now regards culture as a broad concept that embraces all aspects of the life of man. Even a few articles concerned with teaching about the older concept of culture as the limited but praiseworthy production of creative artists, are recognizing to an increasing degree the importance of a knowledge of the patterns of everyday life as a prerequisite to appreciating the fine arts. There are even encouraging signs that augur an eventual harmony between teachers whose major interest is literary and those who are primarily concerned with the other aspects of culture (Marquardt, 70; Christian, 21; Damoiseau & Marc, 24; Campa, 14; Morain, 72; for example). In short, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the study of language cannot be divorced from the study of culture.

There is a need for specific cultural objectives in developing empathy toward people of different life styles. Too often, the cultural content is irrelevant to building a meaningful understanding of other peoples. For example, the writer visited a white, segregated suburb of Chicago where an able German teacher was discussing a critical historical period with his students: the causes and characteristics of Hitler's rise to power. At one point, students were shown some descriptors of educational and governmental objectives in Nazi Germany. In this presentation, some of the objectives were "indoctrination," "building nationalism," "acquiring more land," "discouragement of foreign travel,"

and "freeing Europe of Jews." Then, rather than have the students think of ready parallels in our own culture to all of these points, the teacher concluded by saying, "And these objectives are obviously the farthest thing imaginable from our own!" How much better it would have been for these students to have seen in their own lives the stirrings of the dark, destructive forces of Nazi Germany. Somehow, we must encourage students to identify with both the problems and successes of the target people.

Most language teachers have not had enough training to effectively teach cross-cultural communication and understanding. Culture should be considered more than spice added here and there in a class to keep up student interest. In fairness, however, it must be recognized that many teachers in an unorganized, intuitive way are able to inspire a sympathetic interest in a second culture through infectious enthusiasm often supported by firsthand anecdotes.

In this day and age there is no reason why practically all foreign language teachers who want to go abroad cannot do so. Recently, the writer visited two large FLES programs in neighboring towns. In one town only five of the 20 teachers had been in the target culture—the plea of poverty was the usual excuse—while in the other nearby town of the same socioeconomic character, all of the teachers had been abroad, usually for a year or more. Anyone who has taught two years should have found the time to spend at least a summer in the target culture. Even a very limited amount of time is much better than no time at all. Two excellent sources full of the particulars of study abroad (105) and teaching abroad (109) are published by UNESCO.

In talking with language teachers one often gets the disquieting impression that few know how the study of foreign languages fits into the total educational experience. Yet there are specific, realizable, and educationally sound objectives to which foreign language classes can meaningfully contribute. Many of these objectives are cultural in nature.

It is hoped that in the future the profession will have less to say about the need to teach culture, and more to say about ways to effectively teach and test it. While there will still be a place for general articles exhorting teachers to "teach culture," there needs to be a drastic increase in articles of more substantial content.

There is a growing literature that supports the reassuring premise that, by and large, language teachers teach what

they set out to teach. Rather than fuss about the theoretical semantic differences of "society," "culture," and "civilization," the single most productive deployment of energies will be expended in defining specific cultural objectives in operational and measurable terms.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES FOR TEACHING CULTURAL CONCEPTS*

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ABSTRACT: "Cultural understanding" can be defined more precisely than teachers generally do. Seven different purposes which classroom cultural activities can illustrate are outlined. Four purposes show that a culture is an interrelated system of patterns which are maintained because they work; that is, because they relate to each other in a way which enables the society to achieve its needs. A fifth purpose concerns student skill in finding out about another culture, and still another relates to the ability to evaluate a statement an American makes about a culture. The seventh purpose probes the area of attitudes which the teacher may want the student to develop. The usefulness of specific activities (over thirty are described) to achieve these purposes can be increased if the activity is described in terms of student performance rather than in terms of content which the teacher hopes to cover. A performance objective has three principal components: (1) an explicit series of statements describing what the student should be able to do after learning what the teacher wants him to learn, (2) the conditions under which the student is to present evidence of having learned it, and (3) the level of student performance which the teacher will accept as evidence of learning.

THE foreign language faculty of Ivydown High School desultorily sipped coffee in what an earlier, euphemistically minded administration had dubbed "The Faculty Lounge"—really an adjunct of the boiler room. The teachers gazed, leaden-eyed and uncomprehending, at the psychedelically tinted spirals of plaster which tenaciously fought a losing contest with gravity. Finally, Miss Pruitt broke the uncommon silence.

"I don't think they should have made that last-minute amendment to the referendum proposition."

"Well that was the only way this hardheaded community was ever going to vote any more money for education."

"But it doesn't seem fair . . ."

"Anyway, how are we supposed to measure 'Appreciation and Understanding of Another Culture'?"

"I think it was just a way to get around giving us a salary raise. Imagine! Offering us a twenty-five percent increase in pay and then making the raise contingent on what the lousy kids learn!"

"Maybe we shouldn't have emphasized the culture part of language learning so much."

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* The entries preceded by an asterisk (*) are especially recommended to the classroom teacher.

* From *Foreign Language Annals* 3 (4), (May 1970): 566-78. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

"Well, we've always claimed that one of the main outgrowths of language study was its contribution to international understanding."

"... and World Peace."

"Yes, but what I mean is don't you think we should have emphasized something more tangible if we're going to have to prove that students really do develop cultural understanding?"

"Well how did we know that voters were going to become so anti-intellectual and demand to be able to see the results of education. I mean, it isn't as though we were producing light bulbs or something."

"Yeah, or bloody ball bearings."

"Now Mr. Jonus," Miss Pruitt disapprovingly interjected (she'd spent last summer in England), "there is no need to lapse into vulgarity. The real question is just what do we do now?"

There was another silence.

"Well, who knows anything about student behavioral objectives or performance objectives or whatever the hell they call 'em?"

Miss Pruitt glared in the direction of Joe Jonus, but the awkward moment was broken by Mr. Lemont's defensive remonstrance.

"I don't know what could be more explicit than understanding culture."

"Yeah, well what specific aspects of culture do you mean?" asked Joe Jonus, the irrepressible department iconoclast. "To what degree should the student understand? Like a native? Better than a native? How do we know whether the students really learn what we want them to? How do..."

"Now Mr. Jonus," clucked the eternal optimist, Miss Glohart, "we've always graded students on what they know. Besides, these things take years to learn."

"Do you mean that they are magically learned in the last week of the senior year? Or do you really believe that the students learn a little each year?..."

"Well..."

"Precisely which cultural objectives have we tested? When was the last time anyone here even gave a culture test?"

"The problem in a nutshell," Miss Pruitt capsulated, "is precisely how do we define those areas of culture we want to teach, and then how do we measure what the student has learned?"

Fatigued by what seemed to be hours of frustrating talk, the foreign language department of Ivydown High lapsed into another, even more desultory, period of silence, broken only by one member's cacophonous slurping of stale coffee.

"I've got it!" cried the ever-optimistic Miss Glohart. "We can ask the profession's most renowned expert on foreign language education to come here and tell us how to write performance objectives."

The response was electrifying.

"Do you mean the distinguished Bloduro scholar from Harbridge University...?"

"WALTER NITTY-GRITTY!"

Some weeks later, the distinguished Bloduro scholar from Harbridge University, Professor Walter Nitty-Gritty, a silver Pockata fountain pen poised menacingly in an Edwardian tweed jacket, smiled condescendingly at some of Ivydown's finest, then informed his distraught listeners, rather formally, of the nature of the problem.

"The basic concept of a performance objective has been around so long, and makes so much sense, that many teachers feel they already write performance objectives when they do their lesson plans, although almost invariably they do not. The basic concept is sound. After all, it does not strain one's belief in rationality to assume that teachers teach best when they are aware of what they want to teach. Likewise, a student can be expected to learn most optimally, other factors constant, when he knows what it is he is supposed to learn. Both the profession and the public at large, frustrated in their past love affair with be-dazzling super-methods, are much less concerned with what a teacher does in the classroom, and much more concerned with what the student can do after having been in the classroom."

"Well," Miss Pruitt gamely spoke up, "almost all our students go on to college so we must be doing *something* right."

"Huh," snorted Jonus, "any fool can get into *some* college. But how many of them *graduate*?"

"Ahem. If I may, ladies and gentlemen, continue with my discussion of performance objectives."

Walter Nitty-Gritty paused here for effect.

"While most written objectives describe what it is a teacher wants to teach, a performance objective states precisely, and often in great detail, exactly what behavior a student is expected to exhibit (that is, what he is supposed to be able to do) when he learns what you want him to learn. Further, this behavior should be capable of objective observance (that is, different teachers should be able to agree on what the student did or said), and it should be subject to measurement. Finally, the student should know what level of performance the teacher will accept as adequate, and the conditions under which the performance will be evaluated."

"This concept of educational accountability is of growing importance. Did you know, for example, that one reading program funded by the U.S. Office of Education pays the teacher so much for each pupil who advances one reading level—and does not pay the teachers anything at all for those pupils who do not achieve a grade-level improvement! A textbook firm in Illinois guarantees their textbooks in reading to work, and they only charge a school a percentage based on what the students actually learn! (They accept the evaluation of any of the leading educational testers.)"

"Some areas—the skill areas—are obviously more suited to this type of measurement than other areas. But even cultural understanding, a vague enough term to mean all things to all men, can be subjected to measurement through precisely stated student performance objectives."

"But how can we write performance objectives for cultural understanding?"

"First, I suggest you regard culture as anything that is learned."

"But wouldn't that definition give us an impossible task in the classroom? We couldn't possibly teach everything that is learned in France or Latin America."

"Exactly. Since there is practically an endless number of things which illustrate some part of the target culture, it is necessary to always ask *why* we are teaching any given aspect of the culture. In other words, before having students learn a verse or a fact or whatever, we must evaluate the *purpose* of learning it. Otherwise, in the absence of a sound purpose, the students are just doing 'busy work'."

"I'm a little confused," Mr. Lemont confessed. "How many things should a performance objective do?"

"A performance objective should be able to answer four questions: (1) Why teach a given aspect of the culture? (This is the purpose.) (2) What should the student be able to do or to say when he's learned the specific aspect? (This is the terminal behavior that is the desired outcome of the learning.) (3) What are the circumstances under which the student will be expected to do or say what he has learned? (This spells out the conditions or constraints associated with observance of the student's performance.) (4) How well does the student have to perform under the stated conditions? (This is the criterion of acceptable performance.)"

"Is it really necessary for each performance objective to answer all four questions?"

"Yes. While the order or particular way the objective is organized is not important, a student should be able to find answers to all of the four questions for each terminal behavior the teacher expects him to perform. The tendency for teachers to assume that the student understands what the teacher meant, but did not think of stating, is usually misguided . . ."

And so it was that little by little Ivydown became intimately acquainted with performance objectives.

* * *

We can extract from the scene with Walter Nitty-Gritty and the Ivydown FL staff areas of interest to most language departments. Taking leave of our illustrious Bloduro scholar from Harbridge, let us illustrate the process involved in writing performance objectives in the area of culture.

The logical place to begin is to identify the basic cultural purposes upon which teachers can base their instruction. The learning of facts just for their own sake should be avoided. A source most helpful to this initial task in writing performance objectives is an article on testing cultural

understanding written by Frances B. Nostrand and Howard Lee Nostrand.¹ To illustrate the nature of a cultural purpose, I have developed seven main cultural purposes, adapted from the areas suggested by the Nostrands, which can be taught in foreign language classes. These are listed in the next section, and are numbered 1-7.

The next task is to pick the specific activities which teachers feel can be justified in terms of the purposes they select. These activities, in fact, will be taken as evidence of partial achievement of the major purposes. A source which annually reviews ideas for cultural activities appears in the *Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education*.² A number of cultural activities the teacher may find provocative are listed in the next section, and are identified by the large letters A, B, C, etc., which appear under each major purpose. The most common activities for teaching culture are usually omitted in this presentation in favor of those activities which are not widely used.

After deciding the different purposes which the cultural activities will serve, and after the activities themselves have been identified in terms of the terminal behavior of the student, there are still two things to do to develop a performance objective. The circumstances surrounding the student performance should be stated, and the criteria which the teacher will use to evaluate the performance should be specified.

The circumstances surrounding a student's performance of an objective are determined by the familiar exigencies of facilities and time available for observing and testing the performance, by the maturity of the students, and whether it is possible to measure performance directly, and so on. The task here is to anticipate the circumstances which will affect the performance of each objective and to spell them out in writing.

Whenever you have two or more students present, they can be counted on to perform at different levels of proficiency. The teacher must decide what level of performance can realistically be accepted as adequate. If the teacher expects mastery, then the student should be expected to perform the objective with ninety to one hundred percent accuracy. Failing mastery, the student would be expected either to repeat the performance at another time

¹ "Testing Understanding of the Foreign Culture," in H. Ned Seelye, ed., *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture* (Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, NDEA Title III, 1970).

² Volume 1 was edited by Emma M. Birkmaier (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968 [sic] 1969). See H. Ned Seelye, "Analysis and Teaching of the Cross-Cultural Context," pp. 37-81.

or to do another equivalent activity. Student performance would not, under these conditions, be curved (norm-referenced). However, the student would have the security of knowing exactly what he has to do and how well he has to do it. The purpose of some activities can be achieved with less than near-perfect performance on the part of the student. The teacher must make these decisions concerning criteria. Valuable assistance in the field of testing can be found in Rebecca M. Valette's review article in the *Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education*.³ Perhaps the single most helpful aid in getting the performance objectives down on paper is Robert F. Mager's brief paperback.⁴

The next section contains a selection of purposes and performance objectives for teaching cultural concepts in a foreign language class. The number of purposes can, of course, be increased, and the number of activities to sample or achieve these purposes can be increased almost endlessly. Perhaps the objectives listed below will inspire other, better ideas for the reader to develop. To avoid vagueness, the activities suggested below all relate to a specific culture, Hispanic. However, teachers should experience little difficulty in substituting examples from their own language areas for the ones given here. The purposes for teaching cultural concepts, and the specific performance objectives to achieve these purposes, are presented in the left-hand columns. The right-hand columns contain asides and commentary on the purposes and objectives.

³ "Testing," pp. 343-374.

⁴ *Preparing Instructional Objectives* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Fearon Pub., 1962).

Purposes and Performance Objectives

1. *Functionality of cultural patterns.* People everywhere have to satisfy certain basic needs such as for physical well-being, for acceptance by others, and for a positive self-concept. Man (as well as some other species of life) has found it advantageous to band together in an attempt to meet these needs. Predictably, different groups of people (societies) have developed different ways of satisfying their needs. To be acceptable to one's neighbors in one culture you have to cover your body completely with clothing, while in another culture of the same climate you cannot wear any clothes at all. One culture rewards industriousness while another rewards contemplative passivity. Consequently, an isolated cultural pattern (such as attendance at a bullfight) can only be understood within the context of the whole culture. One usually has to employ many interacting patterns to satisfy a need. Cultural patterns which do not help satisfy needs are discarded by a people.

The student should develop an understanding that cultural patterns exist because they work. That is, because they have a functional value derived from supporting other patterns within the culture which enable a person to satisfy his needs. Demonstrate this understanding by doing the following activities:

A. Mount a bulletin board display, or a graphic portrayal on a piece of cardboard (3' X 3' or larger), which shows the steps one has to go through in Hispanic culture to satisfy a basic need. The display can illustrate any need chosen by the student, but it should include at least four steps and should be illustrated with photos cut from magazines or by drawings.

B. Anticipate the effect which changing one variable has on other cultural components, where the major variables are a railway strike, a student demonstration, an impending *golpe de estado*, and the cost of stability in terms of populace unrest—or any other set of variables which meets the teacher's approval and is announced well in advance of the simulation—by either participating as a player in three simulates of at least three hours' duration each, or by being on the winning team of a simulate.

Commentary

1. Another reason for the existence of cultural patterns is that they sometimes are historical survivals from an earlier age (i.e., the male use of ties as a part of dress). A teacher who wanted to could develop a performance objective to have the student demonstrate knowledge of this.

Teacher: List three performance objectives from the language area you teach (French, German, etc.) which would serve the purpose of functionality of cultural patterns. If you are a Spanish teacher, increase the present list to five.

1. terminal behavior:

conditions:

criterion:

2. terminal behavior:

conditions:

criterion:

3. terminal behavior:

conditions:

criterion:

A. Food consumption, for example, can illustrate the way the satisfaction of a need is dependent on other cultural patterns. The center of the display might portray a middle-class family eating dinner, with connecting lines to the lower class (via the maid who serves the food), to the agricultural sector (via the market where the food was purchased), to the commercial sector (via the father's work which gives the family purchasing power), to the division of work by sex (via the mother's complementary role).

B. Since the purpose of this performance objective is to illustrate the stated purpose, the specific components of the illustration (railway strike, etc.) are strictly arbitrary. While ideally the student would choose his own examples, some students need the security which comes from having all of the components of an assignment spelled out for them. The technique most suited to teaching a student an understanding of a complex system is simulation. Unfortunately, the FL profession has yet to design appropriate simulates. Meanwhile, perhaps the teacher can interest a few bright students in working up an unsophisticated game involving role playing.

Purposes and Performance Objectives

2. *Conventional proprieties.* While all behavior is conditioned by one's culture, the situations which occur very frequently in a society often evolve a fixed mode of response. What one says in a given conventional situation, when one says it, and whether a smile or physical contact is appropriate, etc., is often rigidly determined. The student should indicate an awareness of the most likely interplay (what is said, how people act) in conventional situations in the Hispanic world by being able to do the following eight activities:

A. Perform appropriately when one greets (a) a friend, (b) a stranger, (c) a respected elder. The performance should use linguistic and kinesic forms commonly employed by Spanish-speaking people, should be without grammatical or phonemic error, and should be spoken without noticeably long pauses. An error in any part invalidates successful completion of this objective.

B. Perform two introductions, where one person to be introduced is someone of your own age and the other is a schoolteacher, and by responding appropriately when you are introduced to two other people. The same criteria in A above apply here.

C. Identify the appropriate written form used for the opening and closing salutations of a letter (a) to a friend, (b) to a stranger. This will be tested through ten multiple-choice questions. Ninety percent accuracy is required.

D. Congratulate an individual on the occasion of (a) his birthday, (b) her marriage, (c) the birth of his son, (d) Christmastime. The conditions and criteria are the same as in A above.

E. Give the proper oral response in the following situations: (a) someone compliments your new dress or suit, (b) you bump into someone, (c) someone bumps into you and apologizes. The conditions are the same as in A above, while the criterion is eighty percent accuracy, with a few longer pauses permissible.

F. Identify from written multiple-choice responses of the type shown below (a) common forms of leavetaking, (b) an appropriate response when a stranger goes slightly

Commentary

2. Objectives which require the student to actually perform something need to be very precise in stating what the acceptable level of performance will be, in terms of pronunciation, grammar, speed, orthography, etc. Care should be taken to avoid making the objectives a test of general language ability rather than of culture.

In deciding which of the conventional situations will be measured by performance, cloze procedure, or identification, consideration would extend over the number of possible responses and the chances of a student finding himself in the situation. The student has a right to know which testing technique will be used for each of the specified situations (greetings, etc.).

These performance objectives (A-H) invite the question of whether we want students to "act like a native" or whether some other model such as that of an empathetic and sophisticated American is more appropriate. The teacher must decide for himself. Here, the implication is that in the area of conventional proprieties the student should use a target model.

Teacher: Add three more conventional situations to this list.

1.

2.

3.

E. The "proper oral response" is ambiguous and needs to be explained.

Purposes and Performance Objectives

out of his way to show you what bus you have to take, (c) an appropriate response when a stranger goes considerably out of his way to help you. Eighty percent accuracy is required.

- Ex. José María lleva una camisa nueva y un mexicano quien no le conoce muy bien le dice:
"Qué camisa más bonita." El le diría:
A. "Muchas gracias, es importada."
B. "Muchas gracias, es de mi hermano."
C. "Es la tuya."
* D. "Está a sus órdenes."

G. Identify from written multiple-choice responses the most appropriate forms of address in situations where the pronouns and verbs may reflect deferential address. Seventy-five percent accuracy is required.

H. Indicate knowledge of both linguistic and kinesic ways to console someone who (a) flunks a chemistry course, (b) loses a relative, by being able to answer questions of the following type:

- Ex. La mamá de un amigo de Juan se murió anoche. Al verle a su amigo el día siguiente, Juan le dice:
"Mi _____ pésame."

Minor errors in orthography (including accents) will not count against you. Otherwise, eighty percent accuracy is required.

3. *Extra-linguistic cultural referents.* Words conjure up images which go beyond dictionary definitions. "House," for example, evokes images of a mud hut to an African bushman and visions of a stone mansion surrounded by manicured gardens to an upper-class Englishman. The student should indicate an awareness of the cultural meanings associated with the most common words in Spanish (see below list), by being able to:

A. Identify with eighty percent accuracy, from several pictures of the same type of object, the one which most commonly represents the following in Spanish-speaking countries: abrigo, abuelo, adulto, aeropuerto, almacén, almuerzo, alumno, Argentina, autobús, [etc.].

B. Identify with eighty percent accuracy from multiple-choice responses the most likely time or conditions associated with the following words: abrazo, acostarse, adiós, afecto, agua, almorzar, ambicioso, [etc.].

Commentary

Ex. This multiple-choice example illustrates a common problem. The information given in the stem is not sufficient to avoid having a knowledgeable student think of contexts where each response could be a suitable reply. Items such as these should be rewritten so that the context which the teacher envisions is made explicit.

G. "Deferential address" needs more clarification, especially for a secondary student.

H. "Kinesic" needs more clarification, especially for a secondary student.

Teacher: Reexamine each element of each performance objective in terms of whether the student should be expected to perform it, fill in the missing portions, or recognize the appropriate form when presented with several choices. Make your changes in the text.

Teacher: Reexamine the level of acceptable performance for each objective, and make changes where you feel that another criterion would be more appropriate.

3. The words chosen for this performance objective can be picked from a frequency list (such as Keniston's), from the vocabulary of the student's textbook, or some other source of useful, frequently used words. Each word for which the student is expected to know the cultural referent should be identified. Naturally, the teacher will want to exercise some selectivity. Note that three separate skills are identified, all of which spell out what kind of "awareness" is expected.

A. Since clothing styles, physical types of people, the local topology, etc., often differ in the target culture, special effort in having the students identify what the "authentic" article looks like seems justified.

B. Common things fit into the pattern of everyday life differently in the target culture than in ours. When are breakfasts eaten? Does everyone eat together? What are indications of upper-class table manners in the target culture?

Purposes and Performance Objectives

C. Identify a plausible reason why three of the following words are sometimes emotionally charged: *estúpido*, *coger*, *huevos*, *ridículo*, *americano*, *madre*, [etc.].

4. *Effects of social variables.* The student should demonstrate an understanding of some of the ways in which language and culture interact, by being able to do five of the following seven activities:

A. Identify from a tape recording the place of origin of a speaker from each of the following regions: Castilla, River Plate, Caribbean. The student should concentrate on the ways the following are pronounced: c, z, ll, y, r, -ado, -dad. Eighty percent accuracy is required.

B. Prepare a three- to five-minute oral presentation, or a written report of about 200 words, which discusses at least five words or expressions which are associated with one sex (e.g., female: *qué divino*, *qué emoción*).

C. Prepare a two- to five-minute oral presentation, or a written report of about 200 words, which discusses at least five words or expressions associated with age or generation (e.g., childhood: *mami*, *papi*).

D. Write a dialogue such as might be exchanged among three of the below-mentioned groups, illustrating peculiarities of the speech of each group:

- (a) rural common people (e.g., *naiden*, *suidad*, *fustes*, *fla*)
- (b) urban working class
- (c) urban middle class
- (d) urban upper class
- (e) Indians

Commentary

This performance objective directs the student's attention to how the "authentic" article fits into the target culture.

C. This performance objective examines not the visual aspect of the word (as A does), or how it fits into the total cultural fabric (as B does) so much as it examines the emotional response which words in isolation occasionally provoke. By definition, it is a ticklish area. *Estúpido* and *madre*, for instance, are emotionally charged because they can be vituperative in some areas of Latin America (Mexico, for example), while *coger* is frequently used in the vernacular to indicate coitus. In some areas, especially rural, *huevos* is so commonly employed to designate *testículos* that other words are used to indicate eggs (i.e., *blanquillos*). Does *americano* conjure up images of the Ugly American?

4. A. It is important to direct the student's attention to the few illustrative allophones you intend to use on the tape. Otherwise, the student could spend a disproportionate amount of time learning several hundred regionalisms—only to be tested on the suprasegmental level. It is not of much importance what specific allophones you choose since your purpose is just to *illustrate* the correlation of speech and geography. On the other hand, the exercise will be more practical if you use the most obvious examples.

B. C. D. It is not stated whether the activity is to be done in English or Spanish. This has to be spelled out. If it is to be done in the target language, what will be your criteria? What provisions will you make to avoid turning the performance objective into a language rather than culture test?

FLES Teacher: Employing the principle that any concept can be taught at any age level, think of activities which would be appropriate to your students, but which nevertheless would illustrate the major purposes suggested by this article.

Purposes and Performance Objectives

Commentary

E. Associate sample dialogues which will be given you in English and in writing with the following roles:

- (a) older brother-younger sister
- (b) compadre-compadre
- (c) padrino-ahijado
- (d) suegra-nuera (rural)

F. From pictures of construction workers, maids, policemen, businessmen, rural wealthy, rural poor, urban professionals, wealthy students and poor students:

- (a) order the pictures (unidentified except by photograph) according to their relative position on the social hierarchy;
- (b) identify those occupational groups which would be most apt to address each other deferentially;
- (c) identify the direction and linguistic form of the deference.

G. Chart geographically on a blank map of Latin America the range and variant forms of one of the following words or expressions (or a substitute approved by the teacher) used in Latin America or Spain: *púchica*, *vos*, *hacer el amor*, *autobús*. Use one or more of C. E. Kany's books on Spanish-American dialects as source.⁵

5. *Evaluating cultural evidence.* The student should demonstrate the ability to evaluate the relative truth of a generalization concerning Spain or Latin America, in terms of the standard of evidence substantiating such a statement, by being able to do the following:

A. When presented ten generalities about Hispanic culture of the type illustrated below, evaluate their soundness by stating whether or not the generality:

- (a) comes from a source which is generally reliable;
- (b) shows evidence of empirical research;
- (c) is based on sufficient evidence;
- (d) seems logical.

F. The particular examples are arbitrary. The object is to identify a fairly broad range of social types, rather than reinforce a narrow stereotype. How broad a range you include is up to you.

(c) This is probably too cryptic. Reword it.

G. *Vos* is an interesting example. A recent article in *Hispania* (Sept. 1969, p. 398) says that so much has been said about the *voseo* in Latin America that "very little new can be said about it." While most of the countries in Latin America use this form (second person singular, familiar), how many language classes even mention it?

5. Teacher: Make a list of five generalities which one commonly hears about the target culture.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Teacher: Write two humorously absurd examples which students may enjoy working with, but which nevertheless illustrate process of evaluation.

- 1.
- 2.

⁵ *American-Spanish Syntax*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1951); *American-Spanish Semantics* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1960); *American-Spanish Euphemisms* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1960).

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Example 1: "As can be clearly seen in their love of singing and dancing, Latin Americans are gay, fun-loving people."

Example 11: "The United States had abandoned its role of policeman for the hemisphere by 1930 . . ."

B. Evaluate ten generalities about Hispanic culture which will be given you in English and in writing, in terms of (a) probably true, (b) probably false, (c) I don't know whether it is true or false. For the probably false generalities, state briefly evidence which would tend to contradict them. For those generalities which you didn't know whether they were true or not, state briefly what additional information you would need in order to reach a decision. You will be awarded the same number of points for correctly identifying the true and false statements as for those statements for which you indicate plausibly additional information that is needed.

C. Challenge during class periods statements made by the teacher, other students, visitors, and written sources which do not appear to be based on reasonable evidence. At least five challenges should be made. (If, in the course of the grading period, the appropriate occasions for challenging have not arisen, the teacher will set up some examples in the form of a written test. In this case, eighty percent accuracy is required.)

6. *Cultural research skill.* Many interesting facts soon become obsolete, and dull facts are usually quickly forgotten. During the course of formal education, only a limited number of topics can be adequately explored. Two of the most important characteristics of an educated person are that he asks important questions and that he knows how to go about finding answers to them. The student should show that he has developed the skills necessary to find needed information about Hispanic culture by doing the following:

A. Identify a question about Hispanic culture which intrigues you and write it down.

B. Locate the titles of at least five articles in periodicals and five books which may be reasonably thought to contain information on the topic you identified in A above. At least one of the articles should be from a professional journal such as *Latin American Research Review* or *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Prepare a separate index card for each title, using a standard bibliographical model.

Commentary

B. "Indicate plausibly" posits a subjective criterion. It should be further developed.

6. A-1. While an alternate way to approach this purpose would have been simply to ask for a research report or term paper of a certain length with so many footnotes of such a kind, since the purpose concerned the *process* of research, it was thought desirable to identify the component parts. Spelling it out this way gets the show on the road and protects students from failure.

A. If you have the kind of student who doesn't become "intrigued" without a push, give him a choice of ten or twenty questions you think might interest him.

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C. Skim the publication contained in the bibliography you prepared in B above for pages which are relevant to your topic. Indicate on the index cards (see B above) what these pages are.

D. Read the pages identified in C above, and transfer the most salient facts to the index cards.

E. Outline the subtopics and sequence of development which you would use to develop the topic.

F. List the major variables which affect answering the question you identified in A above.

G. Compose twenty questions which might be advantageously asked of a native speaker of Spanish to provide additional information on your topic. Be sure to include several questions to establish the biases of the informant.

H. Prepare a list of ten additional sources of any kind which pertain to your topic. Prepare the same way you did in B above.

I. Present a brief report, either orally or in a paragraph not longer than 200 words, on the feasibility of pursuing the question you identified in A above.

J. Locate ten sources through the *Book Review Digest* which contain reactions of Latin Americans to Americans, and vice versa, and list these titles on index cards, along with an indication of who is reacting to whom.

7. *Cultural attitudes.* While we do not at present know which attitudes are significantly associated with cultural understanding, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that intellectual curiosity, interest in Hispanic culture, and empathy toward Spanish-speaking people are related to it in some way. The activities listed below will be accepted for extra credit. Substitutions and additions can be made with the consent of the teacher. None of these is mandatory⁶

Teacher: Absent throughout this discussion is any reference to the length of time which should be devoted to the activities, or reference to the date they should be completed, or the date and duration of the subsequent evaluation. While these are relevant concerns of a performance objective, the mechanics of time and testing depend on the idiosyncracies of particular programs. To complete these objectives, write in answers to questions of time and evaluation for the objectives which interest you.

J. This objective develops a different area, viz., using written documents to analyze interaction between target subjects and Americans. Like A-I above, it too can be developed in greater detail.

7. When we can efficiently regulate the affective domain, the Brave New World is just around the corner. As our knowledge of the relation between attitude and cultural achievement increases, questions of professional ethics will have to be faced. While we may properly concern ourselves with outward behavior as it is relevant to second culture learning, it is not clear to me just how much we can ethically manipulate a person's inner "workings." If Sartre is right—we are what we do—then there is no dichotomy between attitude and behavior. But we can't expect all teachers to be existentialists any more than we can expect all (any?) students to be honest when they report that successful completion of the objectives in A, B, and C is an indication of curiosity, interest, and empathy. It probably is more representative of discipline and concern for grades.

⁶ For helpful ideas of activities related to attitudes, see Madeline A. Cooke, "Suggestions for Developing More Positive Attitudes Toward Native Speakers of Spanish," in *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture* (see n. 1).

Purposes and Performance Objectives

Commentary

A. Demonstrate intellectual curiosity by:

- (a) giving evidence of reading 300 or more pages about Hispanic culture from any journal or book in the general bibliography the teacher gave you, or from any other publication which meets the teacher's approval;
- (b) asking ten questions or more of a classroom visitor from a Spanish-speaking country.

B. Demonstrate interest in Hispanic culture by:

- (a) exhibiting an individual project which is an extension of a hobby or other outside interest;
- (b) traveling, for any duration, in a Spanish-speaking country;
- (c) devising a game which teaches the names and locations of all the Spanish-speaking countries;
- (d) reciting the names of the two largest cities in each Spanish-speaking country;
- (e) recognizing the major area of contribution of the following people: Azuela, Asturias, Mistral, Bolivar, [etc.].
- (f) memorizing a poem (of any length) or brief narrative passage which was written by each of the Nobel Prize winners from Spain and Latin America;
- (g) keeping abreast of current events;
- (h) attending five or more Spanish-speaking films.

C. Demonstrate empathy toward Hispanic peoples

by:

- (a) inviting a foreign exchange student home for dinner;
- (b) taking part in a boycott of California grapes;
- (c) attaining satisfactory scores on validated attitudinal scales;
- (d) making contact with at least one person in your community who speaks Spanish at home.

(a) How is the evidence to be given? Any way?

(b) Any questions? What's your name? Where are you from?

(a) Is this clear?

(c) Just making the game? Not learning the names and locations of the countries?

(d) Is there a criterion for pronouncing them in Spanish?

(f) Since students are bound to ask *who* the Prize winners are, should you either give that information in the objective or indicate where it can be obtained?

(g) How is this to be demonstrated?

(h) This assumes the availability of at least five Spanish flicks.

(b) This is obviously meant to *suggest* the area of involvement in the concerns of Spanish-speaking people.

(c) Although there are valid research purposes which employ attitudinal scales, the classroom teacher is probably better off *not* knowing the scores his individual students make on this type of test—the Hawthorne effect being what it is, and all that.

(d) More has to be done to make contact with the pockets of minority groups in the U.S. who speak a language other than English.

Writing performance objectives is not easy. But without them, how is a teacher able to evaluate the extent to which he is succeeding in having students learn "culture"? In the absence of performance objectives, program evaluation must ignore the most important product of the program, and the only reason for its existence—what the student learns. School is not a successful experience for most students. Most students are not rewarded with A's or B's in high school or undergraduate school. While about half of those students who do graduate from high school go on to college, many do not ever graduate from college. Of those that begin work on a master's degree, most fail to get it. And of the remaining students who begin work on a doctoral program, very few ever obtain the degree. While some may argue that this attrition represents the "survival of the fittest," studies which have correlated scholastic success with later success in one's field have discovered that there is no correlation. There is not even a correlation between how well one does in law, medicine, or teaching and the grades awarded in those areas in college.⁷

The teacher who attempts to crystallize his thinking to the point where he can, and does, write performance objectives will be giving the students who never really quite know what is expected of them—and this is the majority of students—a better chance to succeed in school.

Foreign language teachers are prone to jump on bandwagons in their search for a panacea to successful teaching, and I do not mean to give the impression that if the teacher would only write performance objectives his problems are over. It does not detract from the worth of precisely stated performance objectives to acknowledge that learning is a complex phenomenon and many things contribute to it. Performance objectives are but one part. Certainly if we are to demonstrate learning they are indispensable. The teacher can begin the task of writing performance objectives by selecting just one of his many weekly objectives for detailed development. Regional pools of performance objectives will assist the teacher in this task.

Once a language program begins a serious attempt to improve, a Pandora's box of problems jumps out. It is much easier to stagnate. In identifying cultural purposes, coordination with the social studies department is desirable. When specific activities are chosen, they must be appropriate to the student's maturity. They should also articulate with other levels of instruction.⁸ Can the successful

completion of activities be aided by changes in scheduling? Is a programmed approach the most efficient way to accomplish some objectives? Some of these questions are dealt with in Florence Steiner's article ("Performance Objectives in the Teaching of Foreign Languages") in the May 1970 issue of *Foreign Language Annals*.

⁷ See Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (New York: Doubleday, 1968).

⁸ For an outline of levels of cultural instruction, see Howard L. Nostrand, "Levels of Sociocultural Understanding for Language Classes," in H. Ned Seelye, ed., *Handbook on Latin America for Teachers* (Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1968), pp. 19-24. See also the brief section on culture which appears in the *Guidelines for Three Levels of Competence in French, German and Spanish*, prepared by Pat Castle, Charles Jay, and Derald Merriman (Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, NDEA Title III, 1969).

DIRECT CLASSROOM TEACHING OF CULTURAL CONCEPTS*

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It's not difficult to see why foreign language teachers are often apprehensive as they approach the task of teaching culture in their classrooms. The enormous breadth and range of the material which could be taught are overwhelming. To fully understand the complexity of the problem, let's make a simple analogy.

Let's imagine you are given a large box containing several hundred jigsaw puzzle pieces, and told you have only 60 minutes to put together as much of the puzzle as you can. At the end of the hour you will be expected to furnish as many details about the total picture as you possibly can, drawing information from whatever parts you were able to assemble. As you begin work you realize that some of the pieces must be from another puzzle, because they obviously don't fit the one you are assembling. Probably your best plan of action would be to sort out the pieces which don't belong, start on the border pieces until you have the outside framework, and then concentrate on areas where there are definite contrasts such as houses, fences, and trees. You would not confine yourself to one area since that would limit what you could learn of the overall picture, nor would you spend much time on relatively empty areas of sky or water. At the end of the allotted time you would still have many unfinished parts, and some areas would be only faintly recognizable, but if you had the border finished and most of the main features completed, you could give a fairly accurate description of the whole picture.

This comparison is quite useful in illustrating the complexity of the language teacher's task as he strives toward his objective of giving his students cultural insight and awareness. Culture in both its "anthropology" and "civilization" definitions is so broad that the student (or the teacher, for that matter) will never be able to learn everything. At best, a framework can be established, and enough impor-

* From H. Ned Seebye, ed., *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1970, pp. 42-50.

tant areas filled in to allow a fairly accurate glimpse of the total picture.

The teacher cannot just hand the student a box full of jigsaw pieces (cultural concepts) and let him work on his own. The student might spend all his time on "blank sky" areas—information of relatively little importance, such as the annual number of tons of coal produced in a foreign country or the yearly imports and exports. The student could easily be misled by the pieces which do not belong to the "puzzle"—false stereotypes or mistaken preconceptions such as the Mexican with his *serape* and *sombrero*. The teacher's own background and knowledge must be such that he can guide the student in choosing the areas which will give him the most accurate and important information about the total picture. A student without guidance is likely to draw false conclusions or even miss the cultural point completely.

It is not uncommon for Americans to spend several years in foreign countries and be completely unaware of many of the behavioral characteristics of the members of that community. The characteristics become obvious only when discussed or pointed out. Several years ago, I was with a group of Spanish teachers who had just taken a nationally standardized proficiency test for language teachers. The immediate topic of conversation was a question which had been in the civilization and culture section of the test. It had asked whether Latin Americans stand closer together or farther apart than North Americans while conversing. Although many of us had lived in Latin America, and several of the teachers were native Latin Americans, there was strong disagreement about the answer. None of us, including the natives, had even been aware that there was a difference.

The need seems quite clear. It is not enough just to expose the student to cultural information and then expect him to detect all the differences on his own. The teacher must make him conscious of basic contrasts and train him to be perceptive of others. By helping the student see which areas are important and which are trivial, the teacher guards him against mislearning.

As he accepts the challenge of helping his students fit the puzzle together, the teacher has three basic avenues open to him.

- 1) Out-of-class activities
- 2) Indirect classroom teaching
- 3) Direct classroom teaching

In this article we will only briefly summarize the first two approaches and will focus in greater depth on the latter.

OUT-OF-CLASS ACTIVITIES

Out-of-class activities afford varied and fruitful supplements to the cultural information a teacher presents in class. Eating at foreign restaurants, seeing foreign movies, and visiting culturally authentic areas, help make the contrasts especially clear. Guest speakers, slide lectures, and movies during lunch hour or after school are, of course, very interesting, and they also afford the opportunity to invite participation by students not studying foreign languages. An active and imaginative Spanish Club can be the most valuable asset in these kinds of activities, especially if it supplements an imaginative and viable learning experience in the class.

INDIRECT CLASSROOM TEACHING

There are many ways that cultural information can be introduced indirectly. Although there may be no overt explanation or discussion, cultural concepts may be included in the dialogs, pictures, and reading selections of the text materials. Supplemental materials such as films, display pictures, slides, and filmstrips depict authentic scenes of life in the foreign countries.

Every school library usually contains numerous books about foreign countries, and teachers commonly distribute reading lists and have students write or give reports on their outside reading.

The classroom itself can be a vehicle for presenting cultural concepts: realia displays, decorations, maps, pictures, posters, and bulletin boards all add information which will fill in gaps in the total picture.

DIRECT CLASSROOM TEACHING

Since the danger inherent in the two approaches just summarized is that students are seldom able to absorb cultural information with insight and understanding on their own, the information may be useless or may be treated as curious facts, having little effect on the students' behavior. Therefore, the teacher must help them openly and directly.

There are many techniques available to the teacher as he prepares to present cultural concepts directly in the classroom. Three of them are: 1) "cultural asides," 2) "slices of life," and 3) "culture capsules."

Cultural Asides. A cultural aside is a brief (not more than two or three sentences) explanation that the teacher

makes about a point brought up spontaneously during the class period. Although the teacher may work the aside into his lesson plan, he has not prepared materials in advance to teach the concept. He takes immediate advantage of the "teaching moment" because it now holds the interest and attention of the students. A teacher might make several cultural asides in one class period. Consider the following examples:

The class is learning a dialog. In it a young man refers to the mother of his friend as *doña María*. A student asks what *doña* means. The teacher briefly explains that *don* and *doña* are special titles used in Spanish-speaking countries, and gives examples of situations where the titles would be used. The class has just watched a film version of a dialog they are going to learn. Just before playing it through a second time the teacher asks if anyone noticed the gesture the father made expressing his impatience with the young son who seems to be rushing his need to start shaving. The teacher directs them to watch for it during the replay.

These asides will be by far the student's most common source of cultural information. Therefore, the teacher must develop a wide background in the target culture.

Slices of Life. This technique requires planning, research, and preparation by the teacher. It is patterned after the "preamble" technique suggested by Nelson Brooks.¹ The teacher selects authentic segments from life in a foreign country and presents them to the class, usually just prior to the beginning or end of class. Following are some examples of these "slices."

As the students begin filing into the classroom before the tardy bell, the teacher plays a record of a popular song sung by Raphael, a teen-age hero. As the bell rings he stops it and makes a few remarks about the popularity of the song and the singer.

The students have finished their work for the day and there are a few minutes before the end of class. The teacher plays a tape segment with radio commercials advertising *pasta dental Colgate*, *Mejoral*, etc.

These slices of life must indeed be *slices*. They should never last longer than a few minutes and the teacher should comment on them only briefly.

Culture capsules. Culture capsules have been found to be very effective in teaching cultural concepts in the class-

room.² A culture capsule is an illustrated presentation of a single culture concept, lasting about ten minutes. The teacher selects a minimal contrast between the culture of his students and the target culture, prepares himself well, and then discusses it directly in the classroom. This presentation should not be confined to a lecture by the teacher. Every effort should be made to involve the students in doing something to experience the cultural concept. The teacher must avoid just presenting a bundle of facts. The following techniques can be very helpful.

Many teachers find *question-directed discussion* very effective. Rather than merely give out information, the teacher leads students by means of skillfully-worded questions to "discover" a concept by themselves.

The teacher shows a slide of a home typical of the Latin American lower-middle class. He then asks:

"How does this home differ from an American home?"

After the students have pointed out the obvious differences, such as the tile roof, fronting directly on the street, etc., the teacher asks:

"Where is the garage?" (There is none. Most people of this class have no car.)

"Is there no front yard? Where do the children play? (The patio is in the back of the home.)

"Do you see any basement windows?" (There is no basement.)

"Then where do they keep the furnace?" (There is no furnace.)

The questions continue until all the desired concepts have been mentioned and discussed.

The *inquiry method*, used by many teachers, lends itself quite well to the presentation of a culture capsule. The teacher introduces a subject and then assumes the role of

1 Nelson Brooks, *Language and Language Learning* 2nd ed., Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1964, p. 278.

2 H. Darrell Taylor and John L. Soranson, "Culture Capsules," *A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers*, ed. by H. Ned Seelye, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield, Illinois, 1968, pp. 15-18.

a "resource person," answering only "yes" or "no" to questions asked by the students as they try to determine the concept to be learned.

The teacher holds up a *bombilla*, along with a *mate* gourd filled with *yerba*, and looks expectantly at the students. They know the rules of the game and start asking questions:

"Is it from a Spanish-speaking country?" (Yes)

"Is it from South America?" (Yes)

"Is it from Argentina?" (Yes)

"Is it used for decoration?" (No)

"Is it a toy?" (No)

"Do people use it daily?" (Yes)

"Does it have something in it?" (Yes)

"May we see it?" (Yes. Shows the *yerba* to them.)

"Is it something to eat?" (No)

And so on, until the students have established what it is, how it is used, and have even tasted it themselves.

Role playing can often provide meaningful reinforcement of concepts presented in a culture capsule. The teacher sets up a hypothetical situation and the students act out the roles of native speakers.

The teacher has just presented a capsule on gestures commonly used by Spaniards.³ He now has two students come to the front of the room and act out a dialog they have memorized, but this time using the gestures they have just learned. One student calls to another using a gesture meaning "come here." He asks him if he has seen the latest movie at the neighborhood movie theater. His friend answers "no" with a waggle of his forefinger. The first student replies that it was *magnífico*, with the appropriate gestures. They part with the special wave of the hand which signifies *adiós*.

Many other topics lend themselves to role playing: eating in the European style, shopping in a market, bargaining over prices, drinking *mate* with friends, talking on the phone, buying tickets, etc.

Group solving of *situational problems* allows the students to make immediate application of information presented in a culture capsule. The teacher has prepared a number of cards which present situations the students might find themselves in. The group discusses the problem for a few minutes in light of what was just learned in the culture capsule and then reports how they would react in such a situation.

Group A receives a card with the following:

"You have been in Mexico City for two weeks visiting your uncle who is an American businessman there. The Mexican family next door has invited you to a birthday party for their son who is your same age. As you meet him and the other young guests, would you use *tú* or *usted* with them?"

The group decides, since the culture capsule had pointed out that young people (and especially Mexicans) use *tú* with each other, that they, too, would use the familiar form.

Another variation of the situational problem approach is to play "*find the blunder*." At the end of a culture capsule discussion, the teacher presents some "true case histories" of ugly Americans who found themselves in trouble because of ignorance of cultural differences. The students then try to detect the blunder the American made.

The teacher talks about American mannerisms which are offensive to Latin Americans and then presents the following "case history."

A young American who has just arrived in Uruguay to begin study at the university finds he needs new heels on his shoes and decides to take them to a *zapateria*. He tucks them under his arm and starts out down the street. As he passes a *confitería* he stops and buys some sweet rolls which he starts to eat as he leaves the shop. At the corner he almost bumps into a pretty Uruguayan student

³ Jerald R. Green, *A Gesture Inventory for the Teaching of Spanish*, Chilton Company, Philadelphia, 1968.

he had met the day before at the university. She talks to him politely, but with a cold and aloof manner which had not been present in their first meeting. She remarks that she finds Americans to be too informal, and often rude. What changed her attitude toward him?

(The student answers that in Uruguay it is considered bad manners to eat on the street or to carry something in public such as shoes, without first wrapping them up, even if just in a newspaper.)

The approaches and examples presented here are just some of the techniques which can be used in teaching cultural information. Use them, adapt them, and improve them. When used frequently, with skill and careful guidance of the students' understanding, they can go a long way toward filling in gaps in that giant picture puzzle which is the way of life of another people.

6

A PROBLEM—FINDING APPROACH TO THE TEACHING OF SOCIAL STUDIES *

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In his discussion of the "curriculum revolution" taking place in American schools today, Fenton (1967:1-5) advances three possible reasons for the late arrival of social studies to the 10-year-old curricular reform movement. About five years ago, Fenton states, this movement reached the social studies when three developments converged: (1) the educational community saw that the social studies program had failed to keep pace with curricular reform in science and mathematics—yet the world's most pressing problems—war, population explosion, race relations—all fell within the social studies area; (2) new knowledge about the way in which children learn demanded new materials of instruction and new techniques; and finally, (3) money from private foundations and the government became available to support research.

Fenton's reasons may "reasonably" account for the state of affairs involving the teaching of social studies in the past few years. Furthermore, even a superficial inspection into what has been proposed under the name of "new social studies programs" clearly indicates that most specialists who subscribe to Fenton's diagnosis of the situation tend to replace the all-inclusive history-based approach by either one or a combination of several social science disciplines, such as anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology. Hence, most of what is claimed to be "new" in both methodology and materials for social studies seem to have these features in common (Leinwald 1966: 412-14):

- a) the curriculum of the social studies is defined as process and structure;
- b) the student's role is viewed as that of a social scientist; and
- c) the social studies area is promoted to the status of a behavioral science.

* From H. Ned Seelye, ed., *A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1968, pp. 3-5.

If the teaching of social studies is to have any impact on the lives of students trying to cope, understand, and eventually contribute to the resolution of the most pressing social problems, one might start by questioning whether social studies education can ever achieve the hoped for objectivity implicit in the above statements.

Despite the obscurity and ambiguity which permeate this type of educational discourse, neither the one-sided nor the interdisciplinary approaches of social scientists will be able to help teachers even get off the ground. Leinwand's comments on the Queen's statement in *Alice in Wonderland* illustrate the point here:

"Now, here, you see, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere you must run at least twice as fast" (1966: 412).

Leinwand concludes by saying that most of the curriculum bulletins, though they use the vocabulary of the new social studies, appear to be running twice as fast while essentially staying in the same place.

In the first place, the lack of one or more, but at least one, comprehensive theory unifying the structure of the social or behavioral sciences is sufficient to preclude the approach to social studies from the point of view of the social sciences. Needless to say, the simple addition of more fragmented information will not produce integrated knowledge in the minds of students. More important, however, even if such theories built around conceptual organizations, structures, or logical systems were available in the various social or behavioral sciences, the so-called knowledge explosion would be enough to maintain—if not widen—the knowledge gap which has already accelerated the treadmill on which we run.

There must be a better way! A more comprehensive approach to the teaching of social studies from the point of view of both teacher and students must exist.

New methods and updated social science content are necessary but not sufficient to improve social studies curriculum and instruction. A redefinition of means-and-ends relationships in teaching and learning seems to be in order. The position advocated by an increasingly large number of educators, for whom Shaver (1967:589) may serve as the spokesman, is that *social studies education is general education*. The continuous nature of the social studies pro-

gram—intended for all students from kindergarten through high school—makes explicit the intention that all youth in American schools are to be prepared for increasing reflective and effective participation in social living. However, to be other than disastrous, citizen contributions to the formation of public policies are contingent upon a real understanding of the practical realities of democratic process.

In fact, contrary to assumptions often made by teachers (especially at the high school level), students are concerned with, and quite capable of, discussing intelligently pressing social issues. Those involved in curriculum work such as that carried out by the Harvard Project (Oliver and Shaver 1966) have found that high school students' concern with social problems is more realistic than teachers in the past have expected it to be. The Harvard Project has identified questions which are both vital to the functioning of a pluralistic society and meaningful to securing the interest and involvement of youngsters. Consider, for example, the following questions: What relations with minority groups should be forced on members of the society? What are the responsibilities of the rich to the poor, and of the poor to themselves? How should we balance economic strength with humanitarian notions of equality?

The social studies curriculum, originally based on history and geography, extends itself to the whole world, not just to the United States and its society. What is the basic reason for studying Latin America, or any other countries, their peoples and cultures, from an anthropological, sociological, economical, or political viewpoint? The underlying reason should be the same, whatever the country: to enable students to understand the human condition in these countries and to appreciate other peoples' efforts to cope with problems which concern all human beings.

If social studies is to contribute to the more general educational objective delineated above, then more than new methodology and up-to-date materials are needed. In the first place, a different *attitude* on the part of the teacher is necessary, one which uses the important concepts and contents of the social sciences to accomplish a *different* end. It is an attitude of problem solving *toward* knowledge while furthering inquiry, questioning, and doubting. To use Bruner's words (1968:69—72, 89—90), the education sought in social studies today must be one that centers on "problem-finding, not problem-solving." Problem-solving easily degenerates into problem-giving in the hands of teachers anxious to measure learning by the number of

lines students can regurgitate at the end of a given course. To prevent this real but unfortunate outcome of instruction, teachers must adopt a different attitude toward the use of the subject matter they teach; they must use subject matter as *means* to an end, not an end in itself.

This bibliography at the end of this chapter is offered as an introduction to current materials on social studies and methods of inquiry. It is hoped that these resources will bridge the gap between the old and the new social studies by providing impetus and direction for high school teachers. In the next chapter, H. Ned Seelye will make some suggestions on how the new approach argued in this chapter can be applied to the teaching of Latin America. Utilization of the inquiry method in social studies is not dependent upon (although it is enhanced by) expensive books, machines, and audiovisual materials. The *attitude* of the teacher is the focal point of the new social studies. As stated by Goldmark (1968:221):

My hope is that social studies teachers will go into their schools with the commitment to ongoing, doubting, questioning, evaluating, and reconstructing, and attempt to foster this commitment in their students.

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ADDITIONAL SOURCES

A list of materials available from the National Council for the Social Studies may be secured by writing to the council at 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

A fairly extensive Review of Curriculum Materials, edited by Dorothy M. Fraser, is found in *Social Education*, April 1968. Reprints of this are available for 25 cents each from the National Council for the Social Studies (see above).

An *Annotated Bibliography of Anthropological Materials for High School Use*, by James Gallagher, may be obtained from Anthropology Curriculum Study Project, 5632 So. Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637.

Help on Simulation games may be secured from a regional office of the Foreign Policy Association. Write to Bob G. Henderson, 53 West Jackson Boulevard, Room 740, Chicago, Ill. 60604. Assistance can also be obtained from the authors of the chapter on simulation in this *Handbook*. See also: Scott 1966 in the annotated bibliography.

Subscription to these periodicals is strongly recommended: *Social Education*. (1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036); *Trans-Action* (Circulation Manager, Box 1043A, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 63130).

*Especially recommended.

PERTINENCY IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES *

H. Ned Seelye

Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction

A recent survey of the Latin American content in primary and secondary texts concludes that "there is still too much concentration, especially in elementary textbooks, on content which lacks pertinency. Here, the effort to avoid controversy brings an inordinant amount of space to identifying the 'banana' countries, the 'tin' country, the 'old' customs, and too little of the 19th and 20th century reality . . . political and cultural developments are very inadequately treated" (Perrone 1965:119). The writer goes on to observe that the basic organization of content has not changed in decades; the title headings have remained the same. "What is needed is a total rethinking by scholars and textbook writers of the questions of what is important and what is no longer important as Latin America is studied for understanding."

Is there an irreducible minimum of facts without which Latin America cannot be understood? One poignant study (Gill 1968:4-5) says this about the content of social studies texts:

Names and dates seem to be included indiscriminately. There is a wide range of dates included in the texts, the number varying from zero to eighty-nine, with a median of ten. Of those books which include dates (seven out of the nine examined), *no one single date is found in all of them*. . . The number of names included also varies greatly, ranging from zero to fifty-two, with a median of nine. Of the fifteen names mentioned most frequently in the textbooks, only Porfirio Diaz and Fidel Castro belong to the 20th century. . . All books are 1960, or later, editions, yet only three mention leaders in Latin American countries since the Second World War.

* From H. Ned Seelye, ed., *A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1968, pp. 6-14.

Both teachers and textbook writers tend to overestimate the importance of isolated facts. Even the countries most commonly chosen to illustrate Latin America—Mexico and Brazil—"are not representative of Latin America as a whole" (Gill 1968:4). On the other hand, valid generalities which can be applied to the majority of Latin America are difficult to come by (Hanke 1964). As became provocatively evident during the panel discussions of the fourteen Latin American specialists who assisted the recent Title III, NDEA, Pilot Workshop on the Teaching of Latin American Cultural Themes held at Northern Illinois University in the spring of 1968, few experts marshal the same qualifying data to punctuate their often conflicting views. Without some sort of structure or interpretive frame, an isolated "happening" is just not meaningful.

The best test of the pertinency of a fact or opinion is to determine whether it is capable of assisting the student in developing skill in analyzing a problem of some significance. (The types of problems which Dr. Esteves mentions in the last chapter are examples of significant universal concerns.) To gain a clearer idea of how fact and process interact, let us observe a hypothetical student grappling with a problem.

Suppose the student has become interested in the problem of how the self-image, or sense of nationalism, of the Latin American is affected by the mass media. The first thing he might do is make a list of mass media which he thinks might influence the Latin American's view of himself (newspapers, magazines, radio, television). Next, he might ask himself just what facts he would need to know about the media and the people exposed to it in order to arrive at some conclusion. He might consider the number of newspapers and magazines and their circulation, the frequency of radios in the homes (or the number of transistor radios sold for a given period), the number of television channels and sets (or the availability of public viewing of TV in store fronts, bars, etc.), and, of course, the content of the media. Two other potentially important bits of information are whether the subjects are literate, and whether the media reaches the consumer in a language he understands. (It may be noted here that none of these facts are of any consequence to someone interested in Aztec religion, for example. Facts become relevant when they become necessary to understanding a problem already defined.) The next operational problem for the student might be to decide whether one country is going to be chosen for study (and if

so, which one), or whether the study is going to attempt a generalization about a larger segment of Latin America. This decision moves the student in two directions: to a bibliography, such as the card catalog or the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (1967), to discover what materials are readily available; and to think about logical divisions of Latin America (Indian-mestizo-European; rural-urban; etc.). To send a student to a bibliography before he has defined his problem is probably premature. We see what we are conditioned to see; if the student does not know what he is looking for, chances are he will not notice many relevant items.

At this point, the student's problem should be put in some sort of order. He defines the problem more specifically, consults the bibliography and lists the relevant titles and the information they yield, arranges the data—and then discovers that he cannot draw any conclusions because he could not collect enough information. About this time, the teacher will probably be hearing from the student, and the teacher can check the student's sources. If, and let us stick with this extreme case, no more information is available to the student, what has been lost? The "inconclusive" conclusion with which the student is forced to content himself is a lot more realistic than most neat solutions usually presented by textbooks, and has the added advantage of acquainting the student with research techniques. Naturally, teachers will want to guide weak students into defining problems that can afford a sense of accomplishment upon study.

Take a student with no known academic or intellectual accomplishments or interests save two: girls and stealing cars. He might be cajoled into making a scrapbook of clippings of Latin American girls and photos of cars culled from a stack of Mexican magazines. If the teacher is female, there is a good chance that the student will try to test her sophistication with some of the pinups he has collected, so she might want to forget about part of the initial assignment and emphasize the inanimate. Pictures of cars can be catalogued according to make, model, year, number of occupants, whether male or female is driving, type of highway, etc. The student's summary of this information (number of cars collected, number of females driving, etc.) can be presented to the class to see what kind of "conclusions" (hypotheses) might be ventured concerning the economic structure, transportation facilities, and position of the women in the country based on the data. The

class can be asked to suggest other kinds of information which might check the "conclusions" (number of licensed women, number of cars imported annually from Europe, etc.). Some of the South American magazines would be more interesting to old car buffs. Some Peruvian taxis, for example, are virtual antiques. The main pedagogical point in these exercises is to (1) get the student interested in Latin America, (2) direct this interest, step by step, into pertinent areas of concern, and (3) develop his skill in discovering things about peoples and places.

The teacher's role in a problem-oriented approach, such as this, is to assist the student in defining the problem that interests the student. The more precisely a problem is defined, the less trouble a student will have in researching it, and the more fruitful will be the outcome. (On the other hand, it is not desirable to have the student hung up on background. As would be the case with the car pictures, sometimes it is advisable to jump in and begin manipulating the "documents," and fill in background as the need arises.) The teacher, with the cooperation of the school librarian, can also guide the student in his bibliographic work. Rather than be told to read a book on the general topic chosen, students should be taught to skim and to read carefully only limited sections which are really relevant to their specific area of interest. Otherwise, the student will fast become bogged down in the fantastic explosion of knowledge which threatens to engulf all scholars, especially those in science and the social sciences. If the student report is to be written, the teacher can offer invaluable assistance and encouragement in the first draft. If the report is presented orally, sympathetic questions can help a student evaluate his own work.

This approach would replace the role of teacher as *sabotodo* lecturer, with the role of research assistant to an interested student. This matter of student interest is crucial. An uninterested student edges the teacher into the unprofessional role of baby-sitter. The looming disadvantage of systematically covering "all" of Latin America from Columbus to Castro is that there will inevitably be much which bores the captive students (in addition to there being much that is superficial and misleading). If it is felt necessary to "cover" an area, then it had best be divided into a number of smaller units for students to select from according to their individual interests. Latin America is such an interesting subject that it seems inexcusable to make it boring for students.

Occasionally, pedantic arrogance dictates a certain corpus which *has* to be taught—but not, perhaps, learned. In an otherwise exciting approach to teaching culture in conjunction with language classes, one recent report says that the programmed approach "assumes first, that the student is not yet ready to take responsibility for directing his own studies, and second, that for the student relatively unversed in the areas being studied, a general survey course approach is indicated. In independent study the student studies what he wishes, when he wishes, and to the extent that he wishes. It was felt that such an approach was not suitable for the typical secondary school student in that it could easily lead to unnecessary specialization in certain areas of private interest at the expense of deplorable lacunae in other important areas" (Regenstreif n.d.:4). While few students are capable of independent study without the guiding direction of a teacher, and while the programmed mode of operation which Regenstreif advocates is probably justified in this case by practical, operational exigencies, the cry of "deplorable lacunae" should not be taken too seriously.

It is a great aid to functioning in a foreign culture to have special (limited) interests or hobbies related to that culture. Dancing, sports, stamp collecting,¹ movies, books, almost anything (including an interest in the opposite sex) can sustain a person experiencing the "cultural fatigue" of residence abroad. Peace Corps training centers suggest that the volunteers develop areas of private interest for just this reason (see Textor 1966).

Then too, what better way to involve a student with Latin America than by encouraging him to explore something he is already interested in? The more a student becomes willingly involved with Latin America, the more he runs into other areas and problems which he will also find engrossing. Lacunae can be filled in at a later date when the need arises. The "typical" secondary student has shown a remarkable resistance to learning anything he is not interested in. Although there are dozens of important topics to study about Latin America, I can think of no one topic which should necessarily be covered in any given high school course on Latin America.

Finally, the teacher who prescribes the parameters of student learning is bound by biases of which he may be only dimly aware. An anthropologically-oriented study will define the basic ideas of Latin America quite differently than an historically-oriented study, for instance. It is diffi-

cult to free oneself from the values which one's particular society imposes—and most teachers are middle class whites. This WASP culture most of us have inherited is probably a distinct liability in interpreting much of Latin America (Morse 1964). In fact, the imaginative program directed by Regenstreif states that their programmed units usually serve to "introduce the student to a particular artist, composer, statesman, artistic movement, important historical period, or work of art" (p.2). This seems to be a classic reflection of a humanities bias. Interestingly, one historian has said that "anthropology, in its present state, offers the best point of departure for examining Latin American culture; literary and historical studies are especially weak" (Morse 1964:106). It is difficult to conceive of a profound understanding of Latin America being achieved through any one discipline; it requires consulting multi-disciplinary sources. One article states the problem for language teachers in these terms:

When the aim of language instruction was to acquaint the student with the esthetic documents of Western literary history, it followed that the cultural content of the course would focus on other esthetic documents, such as music and the plastic arts. Now that the primary aim of most language courses is to improve a student's oral fluency so that he is able to communicate in the foreign language, the traditional role of culture is wholly inadequate. As language has become viewed as a functional tool, so may culture be regarded as a complementary tool to aid the student in functioning in a foreign society (Seelye 1968:24).

Nevertheless, the general approach to teaching culture which Regenstreif is exploring (individual study carrels equipped with slide projector, both silent and sound movie projectors, tape recorders, and containing programmed materials for review during study halls, free time, etc.) is exciting and the results of this work will undoubtedly be of interest to the profession.²

Another approach to teaching culture in the language classroom is outlined in the next chapter. While the authors encourage teachers to prepare brief units on a specific aspect of culture, I would suggest that the exercise become a more active one for the students, and a less active one for the teacher, by having students prepare the materi-

als under the guidance of the teacher. The specificity of the next two chapters should be a real aid to teachers interested in teaching culture in the language classroom. By making the study of culture more pertinent to some of the basic problems in the area, more interest is usually generated in the study of Latin America.

Professor Nostrand proposes that the essentials of the foreign cultural system be organized under headings of a structured inventory which he calls an "emergent model." (The "emergent model" is developed at greater length in Nostrand 1967.) Some 30 headings are grouped under the four large rubrics of The Culture, The Society, The Individual, and the Ecology.

THE EMERGENT MODEL

(with the corresponding categories of Murdock's
Outline of Cultural Materials)

- I. The Culture (value system, ethos, assumptions about reality, verifiable knowledge, art forms, language, paralinguage and kinesics)
- II. The Society (familial, religious, economic-occupational, political and judicial, educational, intellectual-esthetic, recreational, communications, social proprieties)
- III. The Individual (integration of the personality, organismic level, intrapersonal and interpersonal valuation, status of: men, women, adolescents, children; intrapersonal conflict)
- IV. The Ecology (attitudes toward nature, exploitation of nature, use of natural products, technology, settlements and territorial organization, travel and transportation)

The Latin American Curriculum Project at the University of Texas has further provided the teacher with a suggested outline of concepts central to an understanding of Latin America. Their publication, *Key Ideas About Latin America* (Bulletin No. 4, 1967), is a fine step toward the eventual resolution of the problem of selecting pertinent themes and facts. Abstracting the main skeletal ideas almost verbatim from this source (the study lists many more sub-categories), 37 publications were selected³ (mostly anthologies and collections of essays) from the annotated bibliography for review in terms of the six "key ideas" suggested by the LACP.

Three undergraduate coeds from Northern Illinois University—Noreen G. Johnson, Susanne Mosel, and Patricia A. Vanthournout—graciously consented to index the publications under the appropriate "idea" heading. The remain-

ing portion of this chapter contains their bibliographic guide, indexed under the following rubric:

- I. The Physical Environment
- II. Historical Backgrounds
- III. Contemporary Society and the Family
- IV. Contemporary Culture Values, Ideals, and Creative Expression
- V. Contemporary Economics
- VI. Contemporary Politics, Government, and International Relations

I. The Physical Environment

- A. Latin America is an area of great physical diversity, relatively isolated from world population centers and trade routes. Mountains, tropical rain forests, and deserts or semi-arid regions account for more than half of Latin America's nearly eight million square miles (about 2-1/2 times the size of the U.S.)

Adams 1960:66-67 (geographical setting and social change in Peru), 112-113 (land and people of Bolivia); *Alexander 1962:15-28* (land); *Anderson 1967:89-86* (resources for development); *Burr 1967:159-160* (adequacy of physical resources); *Hanke 1967b:17-127* (geography of Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Brazil); *Loprete 1965: (physical environment)*; *Robinson 1967; Schurz 1964:3-22* (land); *Véliz 1966:16-17* (climate of Argentina), 21, 36 (geography of Bolivia), 53 (climate of Brazil), 69 (climate of Chile), 84 (climate of Colombia), 97 (climate of Ecuador), 107 (climate of Paraguay), 121 (climate of Peru), 131 (climate of Uruguay), 145 (climate of Venezuela), 162 (climate of Mexico), 172 (climate of British Honduras), 184 (climate of Costa Rica), 192 (climate of El Salvador), 204 (climate of Guatemala), 214 (climate of Honduras), 222-223 (climate of Nicaragua), 233 (climate of Panama), 253 (climate of Cuba), 266 (climate of Dominican Republic), 275 (climate of French Antilles and French Guiana), 287 (climate of Guyana), 277 (climate of Haiti), 308 (climate of Puerto Rico), 318 (climate of Surinam), 321 (climate of Netherland Antilles), 338 (climate of Jamaica), 341 (climate of Trinidad), 344 (climate of Barbados); *Webb 1967*; see also: *Burnett 1968* and *Heath 1965*.

II. Historical Backgrounds

- A. Indian and Spanish cultures interacted to produce a unique colonial society.

Arciniegas 1967:3-75 (pre-colonial history); *Glissold 1966:52-79* (the Spanish imprint); *Frank 1967:121-142* ("Indian problem" in La. Am.); *Hanke 1967b:17-50* (Indians of Andies); *Keen 1967:2-38* (ancient America), 86-94 (Spain's Indian policy), 115-127 (class and caste), 180-190 (formation of colonial Brazil), 198-217 (masters and slaves), 161-172 (colonial culture and the enlightenment), 46-57 (great discoveries); *Leyburn 1966:14-112* (Haitian class and caste); *Loprete 1965:16-80* (Indian cultures); *Schurz 1964:23-29* (pre-colonial history); *Ureña 1966:7-18* (indigenous cultures); *Véliz 1968:89* (the Inca and colonial periods), 168 (Indians in British Honduras).

- B. Spanish colonial administration was highly centralized and authoritarian, and Spanish control was reinforced by the activities of the Church which, under royal patronage, was a wealthy, conservative influence. (Thus, two strong Indian traditions, authoritarian government and pervasive religious influence, were continued.)

Arciniegas 1967:75-110 (Spanish colonies); *Burnett 1968; Hanke 1967b:65* (Chile), 73 (Argentina), 99 (Brazil); *Keen 1967:40-45* (Hispanic background), 138-148 (Church in the Indies), 191-197 (government and church); *Loprete 1965:80-115* (colonial society); *Schurz 1964:33-50* (colonial empire); *Ureña 1966:19-27* (discovery and colonization), 28-42 (colonial culture); *Véliz 1966:6-7* (Argentina), 22 (Bolivia), 41-43 (Brazil), 75-76 (Colombia), 101-3 (Paraguay), 127-8 (Uruguay), 150 (Mexico), 168 (British Honduras), 175 (Costa Rica), 227-8 (Panama), 241-3 (Cuba), 301 (Puerto Rico).

- C. The wars for independence in Spanish America had complex causes and in some areas were also civil wars. The legacy of the colonial period and the wars for independence persisted in varying degrees.

Arciniegas 1967: 131-210 (independence); *Burnett 1968: 1-15* (challenges to order); *Hanke 1967b:17-67* (wars for independence in several So. Am. coun-

tries); *Keen* 1967: 172-179 (revolt of the masses), 218-258 (independence); *Loprete* 1965: 158-170 (independence), 180-193 (reorganization and consolidation); *Schurz* 1964: 40-50 (Bolívar and independence); *Urena* 1966: 43-56 (independence); *Veliz* 1968: 7-10 (independence in Argentina), 59-63 (Chile), 76-77 (Colombia), 128 (Uruguay), 151-3 (Mexico), 228-232 (Panama), 243-245 (Cuba), 284 (Guyana)

- D. A major political crisis in the new nations was the conflict of interests among rural landowners, rising middle class, and the peasant and urban masses.

Burnett 1968; *Hanke* 1967b: 151-4 (Catholic social reform); *Keen* 1967: 150-160 (Bourbon reforms), 325-347 (Brazil: from empire to republic); *Loprete* 1965: 105-116 (conflicts in colonial society); *Véliz* 1968: 43-51 (Brazil: empire to republic), 90-91 (Ecuador), 103-7 (after independence in Paraguay), 111-117 (Peru), 137-141 (Venezuela), 154-9 (Mexico), 169 (British Honduras), 176-182 (Costa Rica), 188-190 (El Salvador), 196-201 (Guatemala), 208-211 (Honduras), 217-220 (Nicaragua), 257-260 (Dominican Republic), 291-2 (Haiti); *Wagley* 1968: 118-154 (the peasant); see also: *Alexander* 1962, *Johnson* 1964, *Véliz* 1968: 43-65 (peasants and rural migrants in politics).

- E. Economic diversification and development have been sporadic and uneven, with far-reaching economic, social, and political effects. (See Section V.)

Anderson 1967: 3-46 (economic role of La. Am. nation-state), 47-67 (nation-building and development policy); *Frank* 1967: 3-120 (capitalist development of underdevelopment in Chile); *Hirschman* 1961: 3-42 (economic development); *Keen* 1967: 95-102 (economic foundations), 128-137 (political institutions of the Indies); *Loprete* 1965: 105-116 (colonial economics); *Ureña* 1966: 57-77 (after independence), 78-96 (organization and stability), 97-112 (prosperity and renewal); *Véliz* 1968: 129-130 (welfare state of Uruguay).

III. Contemporary Society and the Family

- A. Population distribution and growth rates vary within and among nations.

Adams 1960: 67-70 (population distribution and social structure of Peru), 112-114 (land and people of Bolivia), 287-290 (Mexico); *Alexander* 1962: 29-56 (the people); *Anderson* 1967: 205 (population statistics); *Burr* 1967: 158-9 (effect of population increase); *Gerassi* 1963: 20-24 (population statistics); *Hanke* 1967: 170-5 (upsurge of population); *Heath* 1965: 3-138 (delineation of cultural entities in La. Am.); *Hyde* 1967: 3-13 (the people); *Leyburn* 1966: 3-13 (Haitian population); *Loprete* 1965: 1-15 (population); *Robinson* 1967: 42-62 (human background); *Schurz* 1964: 51-56 (the people); *Ureña* 1966: 115 (population statistics); *Véliz* 1968: 17 (population statistics of Argentina), 36 (Bolivia), 54 (Brazil), 69 (Chile), 84 (Colombia), 97 (Ecuador), 107 (Paraguay), 122 (Peru), 131 (Uruguay), 145 (Venezuela), 162 (Mexico), 172 (British Honduras), 184 (Costa Rica), 192 (El Salvador), 204 (Guatemala), 214 (Honduras), 223 (Nicaragua), 233 (Panama), 238, 253 (Cuba), 267 (Dominican Republic), 276 (French Antilles and French Guiana), 287 (Guyana), 297 (Haiti), 308 (Puerto Rico), 318 (Surinam), 321 (Netherlands Antilles), 338 (Jamaica), 341 (Trinidad and Tobago), 344 (Barbados), 346 (Associated British States), 349 (Crown Colonies), 666-674 (population of La. Am.); see also *Wagley* 1968.

- B. Latin American populations are racially mixed, and although reliable statistics on racial composition are impossible to obtain, several groups of countries with similar population characteristics may be identified.

Adams 1960; *Alexander* 1962: 29-56 (the people); *Clissold* 1966: 52-79 (the Spanish imprint), 121-151 (Brazil); *Frank* 1967: 121-142 ("Indian problem"); *Gerassi* 1963: 128-132 (Indians in Peru), 220 (Indians in Bolivia); *Hanke* 1967b: 47 (future of Bolivia), 234 (race and class in Brazil), 215 (Argentinians), 201-3 (Indians in Bolivia); *Heath* 1965: 3-138 (delineation of cultural entities in La. Am.), 475-556 (world views); *Leyburn* 1966: v-xxxvi (the Haitian people); *Mörner* 1967; *Robinson* 1967: 42-62 (racial composition); *Schurz* 1964: 56-61 (the people); *Véliz* 1968: 315 (ethnic structure of Caribbean), 324-326 (slavery in the West Indies), 690-712 (Indians); *Wagley* 1968: 1-80 (La. Am. culture); *Wagley* 1958: 30-47 (Brazilian Indians), 61-85 (Indians in Mexico), 281-2, 292-5 (future of Indians); see also: *Burnett* 1968.

- C. Relations among the many ethnic groups vary from nation to nation although in general there tends to be less overt racial discrimination and hostility than in the U.S.

Adams 1960; Alexander 1962:29-56 (the people); Arciniegas 1967:215-233 (Negroes and whites in Haiti); Hanke 1967b (new La. Am. nationalism); Heath 1965:342-360 (social stratification in La. Am.), 475-556 (world-views); Keen 1967:456-489 (society in transition); Loprete 1965:206-226 (social life); Möerner 1967; Schurz 1964:51-87 (the people); Wagley 1968:155-174 (concept of social race); Wagley 1958:93-118 (Negroes in Martinique).

- D. Upper and lower sectors or classes may be identified with more mobility within than between. Various socioeconomic groups may be more specifically identified as peasants and rural laborers, urban working class, urban unemployed, urban middle class, landed upper class, and business-oriented, urban upper class.

Adams 1960; Alexander 1962:29-56 (the people), 85-106 (labor problems), 107-120 (society); Burr 1967: 91-94 (rule by elite); Hanke 1967b:193 (economic questions in social reform), 166-177 (rural-urban migration); Hanke 1967a:219-222 (Colombians); Heath 1965:3-138 (cultural entities of La. Am.), 257-474 (social organization); Johnson 1964; Lipset 1967: 61-116 (industrial and middle class elites), 256-342 (labor elite and contemporary peasant movements); Robinson 1967:42-62 (class divisions); Véliz 1967: 15-42 (politics and social class); Véliz 1968:386-395 (working class in politics), 674-690, 736-742 (working classes); Wagley 1968; see also: Johnson 1958.

- E. The extended family, including several generations and extensive lateral relationships, is of considerable importance in all sectors of Latin American society.

Burr 1967:97 (the extended family as pressure group); Heath 1965:257-310 (family, marriage, and divorce in Brazil), 324-341 (class and kinship in Argentina); Robinson 1967:42-62 (family unit); Tomasek 1966: 27-29 (strength of family ties); Wagley 1968: 175-193 (kinship patterns in Brazil).

IV. Contemporary Culture: Values, Ideals, and Creative Expression

- A. Culturally, "Latin America" is a varying blend of diverse Indian, Spanish-European, African, and, more recently, North American elements.

de León 1967:107-116 (culture conflict), 151-161 (culture and language); Leyburn 1966:3-112 (Haitian caste and class), 297-304 (creole language); Loprete 1965; Schurz 1964:297-322 (cultural characteristics); Ureña 1966:114 (Russian revolution and woman suffrage); Véliz 1968:752-764 (cultural background), 743-752 (football); Wagley 1968:1-80 (La. Am. culture).

- B. Several common Latin American traits or values may be identified, although there are variations among nations and within them (individualism, personalism, formalism, fatalism).

Alexander 1962:126-8 (centralism); Crawford 1966: 95-169 (positivism and idealism in Argentina); de León 1967:107-110 (culture conflicts), 151-161 (culture and language), 93-103 (young people); Hanke 1967a:154-166 (panamericanism); Heath 1965:124-138 (regionalism in Brazil); Schurz 1964: 297-322 (cultural characteristics); Tomasek 1966: 23-40 (personalism and materialism).

- C. Cultural conflict characterizes much of Latin America as a result of changes associated with industrialization, urbanization, secularization, and emergence of the middle class, and new ideologies.

Adams 1960; Alexander 1964:3-21 (Venezuela); Burr 1967:172-4 (cultural values); de León 1967:107-116 (culture conflicts), 39-49 (the city); Hanke 1967b: 166-177 (rural life and modernization), 177-186 (developmental problems), 193-8 (social reform); Heath 1965:405-423 (urbanization without breakdown); Johnson 1964:3-20; Leyburn 1966:177-210 (home life in Haiti), 285-9 (problems of the elite); Schurz 1964:297-322 (cultural characteristics and social organization); Smith 1968; Véliz 1968:94 (urbanization), 586-614 (industrialization); Wagley 1968:194-212 (middle class dilemma).

- D. Values, goals, and ideals are illustrated in Latin America's art, architecture, music, and literature.

Alexander 1962:203-216 (culture); Arciniegas 1967:225-242 (literature: modern to anti-modern), 251-256 (literature in revolutionary La. Am.); Clissold 1966; Crawford 1966; de León 1967:1-10 (the press), 73-82 (theater); Hanke 1967b:121-7 (Brazil's cultural explosion), 240 (Villa-Lobos); Johnson 1964:79-100 (writers), 101-135 (artists); Keen 1967:311-324 (literature), 490-507 (contemporary literature); Loprete 1965:130-145 (arts and letters), 172-181 (romanticism and neo-classicism), 194-226 (contemporary art and literature); Schurz 1964:335-343 (literature); Ureña 1966:97-112 (prosperity and renewal), 113-130 (art, literature, music, architecture), 132-145 (literature), 145-147 (theater), 148-150 (music), 151-161 (art); Véliz 1968:764-789 (literature), 789-795 (theater), 795-802 (painting and sculpture), 802-814 (architecture), 814-820 (music), 820-826 (cinema), 826-832 (press).

- E. Religion. The role of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America is changing as society becomes more secular.

Adams 1960:332-4 (religion in Mexico); Alexander 1962:217-236 (the church); Burr 1967:98 (church as pressure group); Hanke 1967b:151-4 (Catholic action in social reform); Hanke 1967a:170-1 (Catholic church), 124-138 (religion and the church); Hyde 1967:52-86 (Christian Democratic challenge); Johnson 1958; Leyburn 1966:113-176 (Haitian religion); Lipset 1967:190-232 (religious elites); Martz 1965:276-283 (dichotomies in the Church); Mecham 1966; Robinson 1967:42-62; Schurz 1964:329-234; Smith 1968; Véliz 1967:192-220 (religion and social change in Brazil); Véliz 1968:730-6 (Catholic Church); see also: Wagley 1968.

- F. Education is for the elite and does not provide the trained personnel necessary for socioeconomic progress; with 50% of the population under 20 years of age—less than 20% were in school in 1965.

Adams 1960:89-94 (education in Peru), 329-332 (Mexico); Alexander 1962:189-202 (educational sys-

tem); Alexander 1964:246-270 (Venezuela); Burr 1967:170-2 (educational system), 98 (students as pressure group); de León 1967 (the university); Hanke 1967b:154-166; Johnson 1964:206-226 (university students); Leyburn 1966:265-284 (Haitian problems); Lipset 1967:343-484 (education and elite formation); Loprete 1965:206-226 (education in the 20th century); Robinson 1967:42-62 (illiteracy); Schurz 1964:324-9; Ureña 1966:117-8 (educational system); Véliz 1968:20 (educational statistics of Argentina), 39 (Bolivia), 57 (Brazil), 72 (Chile), 87-8 (Colombia), 100 (Ecuador), 110 (Paraguay), 125 (Peru), 134 (Uruguay), 148 (Venezuela), 165 (Mexico), 174 (British Honduras), 187 (Costa Rica), 195 (El Salvador), 207 (Guatemala), 216 (Honduras), 226 (Nicaragua), 236 (Panama), 255 (Cuba), 269 (Dominican Republic), 277 (French Antilles and French Guiana), 287 (Guyana), 300 (Haiti), 310 (Puerto Rico), 320 (Surinam), 323 (Netherlands Antilles), 340 (Jamaica), 343 (Trinidad and Tobago), 346 (Barbados), 349 (Associated States), 351 (Crown colonies), 379-386 (students in politics), 712-730 (educational institutions); see also: Tomassek 1966:115-127 (student political activity); Wagley 1968.

V. Contemporary Economies

- A. Economic development is of primary concern throughout Latin America. The problem is to raise per capita income and improve the welfare of a large population which is growing more rapidly than that of any other world region.

Adams 1960; Alexander 1962:3-5 (outside influences), 57-84; Alexander 1964; Anderson 1967:205, 310-364 (per capita income statistics); Burr 1967:157-8 (per capita income statistics), 160-9 (economic factors); Frank 1967:1-274 (capitalism); Gerassi 1963:19-40 (conditions), 374-387 (economic statistics), 443-6 (agriculture in Colombia); Hanke 1967b:60-2 (Uruguay's welfare state), 177-197 (developmental problems); Heath 1965:139-256 (agriculture and economics), 438-453 (economic autonomy and social change in Mexican villages); Hirschman 1961; Hyde 1967:87-144 (self-help and agrarian reform); Johnson 1964:49-78 (rural labor), 161-185 (industrialists), 186-205 (urban workers); Keen 1967:277-289 (economic activity), 290-310 (way of life); Lipset 1967:3-60 (values, education,

and entrepreneurship), 94-116 (industrial elite), 256-300 (labor elite); *Loprete 1965*:1-15 (economy), 206-226 (economics in 20th century); *Martz 1965*:251-5 (labor and politics), 150-8 (aspiration for economic development); *Robinson 1967*:63-99 (resources); *Schurz 1964*:131-234; *Véliz 1968*:15-20 (economic statistics of Argentina), 32-35, 37-39 (Bolivia), 55-57 (Brazil), 67-73 (Chile), 81-88 (Colombia), 93-100 (Ecuador), 106-110 (Paraguay), 117-125 (Peru), 130-6 (Uruguay), 143-8 (Venezuela), 160-6 (Mexico), 170-4 (British Honduras), 182-7 (Costa Rica), 190-5 (El Salvador), 203-7 (Guatemala), 211-216 (Honduras), 220-6 (Nicaragua), 232-6 (Panama), 250-6 (Cuba), 265-9 (Dominican Republic), 273-8 (French Antilles and French Guiana), 285-290 (Guyana), 294-300 (Haiti), 306-311 (Puerto Rico), 313-320 (Surinam), 317-323 (Netherlands Antilles), 333, 338-340 (Jamaica), 334, 341-3 (Trinidad and Tobago), 335, 344-6 (Barbados), 336, 346-9 (Associated States), 336, 349-351 (Crown Colonies).

- B. In addition to industrial development, and related to general economic progress, are the problems of inflation, taxation, government spending, and government's role in the economy.

Alexander 1962:57-84 (the economy); *Alexander 1964*:151-8 (Venezuelan financial problem), 159-193 (agrarian reform); *Anderson 1967*:3-86 (economic role of La. Am. nation-state and policy-making), 115-200 (administrative development policy), 203-381 (role of gov't in development); *Hanke 1967b*:177-196 (developmental problems); *Hirschman 1961*:69-94 (inflation), 95-124 (price stability), 125-160 (trading groups); *Leyburn 1966*:250-264 (Haitian commerce); *Martz 1965*:159-171 (ideologies of economic development); *Véliz 1968*:468-652 (problems in economic development), 542-586 (organization); see also: *Adams 1960* and *Heath 1965*.

VI. Contemporary Politics, Government, and International Relations

- A. Given the lack of preparation for representative government, acceptance of military rule and thinly disguised dictatorship, uneven economic development, internal disunity, and defensive nationalism, it is not surprising that the Latin American republics do not tend to be republics in practice and that they are often unstable.

Alexander 1962:173-188 (the military); *Alexander 1964*:22-72 (revolutions and regimes in Venezuela), 105-150 (the military in Venezuela); *Anderson 1967*:87-114 (La. Am. political system), 115-200 (administrative decision making), 203-209 (generation of development aspiration), 310-364 (gov't performance in development); *Arciniegas 1967*:243-270 (dictators and revolutions); *Burnett 1968*; *Burr 1967*:75-88 (Inter-La. Am. relations), 89-107 (domestic politics in La. Am.); *de León 1967*:53-62 (the military); *Gerassi 1963*:53-75 (recent history of Argentina), 76-99 (recent history of Brazil), 100-7 (recent history of Mexico), 112-122 (gov't in Chile), 123-8 (gov't in Paraguay), 128-140 (Peru), 141-8 (Ecuador), 149-154 (Colombia), 155-166 (Venezuela), 167-186 (Central America), 187-202 (Caribbean Islands), 206-210 (Costa Rica), 211-8 (Uruguay), 219-223 (Bolivia), 391-405 (Castro and the nationalists); *Hanke 1967b*:127-138 (OAS), 184 (coup d'états), 207-248 (politics); *Hanke 1967a*:172-6 (obstacles to change), 193-218 (Caribbean revolution); *Heath 1965*:361-378 (toward the comparative study of politicization), 454-474 (the transition to a mass democracy in Argentina); *Johnson 1958*; *Johnson 1964*:136-160 (the military); *Keen 1967*:260-276 (dictators and revolutions), 374-390 (storm over the Andies), 420-456 (Cuban revolution); *Lipset 1967*:146-189 (the military elites); *Loprete 1965*:194-226 (politics), 251-268 (Brazilian revolution); *Martz 1965*; *Szulc 1965*; *Tomasek 1966*; *Véliz 1967*:66-118 (middle class military coup), 249-277 (Cuban revolution); *Véliz 1968*:11-15 (Perón in Argentina), 23-32 (after the constitutional period in Bolivia), 51-3 (gov't of Brazil since 1964), 63-7 (rise of parties in Chile), 77-81 (20th century Colombia), 91-3 (recent political development in Ecuador), 117-121 (recent political development in Peru), 245-250 (Castro in Cuba), 261-5 (recent politics of Dominican Republic), 313 (self-gov't. in Surinam), 316 (self-gov't. Netherlands Antilles), 365-379 (military in politics), 379-386 (students in politics), 386-395 (working class in politics), 395-403 (La. Am. integration and territorial disputes); see also: *Adams 1960*.

- B. Although Latin American governments are not Western-style democracies, personalist rule is fading, and responsible political parties are developing. (However, political stability remains the exception.)

Adams 1960; Alexander 1962:9-10 (Communists and Jacobinism), 145-172 (gov't. and politics); Alexander 1964:73-104 (gov't. and opposition parties in Venezuela); Burnett 1968; Burr 1967:99-102 (political parties); de León 1967:29-38 (politics), 63-72 (political rights); Hanke 1967b:17-93 (gov't. of Ecuador, Argentina, Brazil); Hanke 1967a:167-9 (communism in La. Am.), 224-8 (Venezuelan governments); Heath 1965:454-474 (the transition to a mass democracy in Argentina); Hyde 1967: (reaction and revolution), 145-167 (Frei sets the pace); Keen 1967:391-402 (Argentina), 403-419 (republican Brazil); Leyburn 1966:210-249 (Haitian politics), Martz 1965:214-222 (responsible parties); Robinson 1967:100-119 (political patterns); Schurz 1964:89-130 (gov't.); Szulc 1965; Tomasek 1966; Ureña 1966:130-162 (overthrow of dictators); Véliz 1967:158-191 (stability in Mexico); Véliz 1968:17 (constitutional systems of Argentina), 36 (Bolivia), 54 (Brazil), 69 (Chile), 485 (Colombia), 97 (Ecuador), 110 (Paraguay), 122 (Peru), 132 (Uruguay), 141-5 (Venezuela), 159-163 (Mexico), 172 (British Honduras), 184 (Costa Rica), 192 (El Salvador), 205 (Guatemala), 216 (Honduras), 226 (Nicaragua), 236 (Panama), 253 (Cuba), 267 (Dominican Republic), 276 (French Antilles and French Guiana), 287 (Guyana), 297 (Haiti), 308 (Puerto Rico), 318 (Surinam), 321 (Netherlands Antilles), 326-331, 338 (Jamaica), 333, 341 (Trinidad and Tobago), 335, 344 (Barbados), 335, 347 (Associated States), 336, 350 (Crown Colonies), 356-365 (party systems in La. Am.).

- G. Latin America's political future appears to depend upon the ability of moderate and liberal leaders to attract mass support and carry out basic reforms in the face of vested-interest opposition and extremist agitation.

Alexander 1962:145-172 (gov't and politics); Alexander 1964:297-307 (the balance sheet of the Venezuelan revolution); Burnett 1968; de León 1967:83-92 (university and politics); Gerassi 1963:52-223 (leaders in gov't.); Hanke 1967a:183-192 (power struggle in Central America); Hanke 1967b:207-248 (gov't.); Hyde 1967:87-117 (self-help and violence), 168-206 (taking the other road); Johnson 1958; Johnson 1964; Martz 1965:184-213 (political groups), 228-236 (political university); Schurz 1964: 89-130 (gov't.); Szulc 1965; Véliz 1967: 43-65 (peasants in politics), 119-158 (students in politics);

see also: Adams 1960, Heath 1965, Wagley, 1968, Tomasek 1966.

- D. United States-Latin American relations have been characterized by alternating periods of U.S. interest and neglect, conflict and cooperation, within a general atmosphere of increasing U.S. concern with Latin America. Anti-Americanism is an inevitable aspect of United States-Latin American relations.

Adams 1960; Alexander 1962:12-3 (changing nature of Inter-American relations), 237-250 (La. Am. and the world); Alexander 1964:136-150 (foreign policy of the Venezuelan revolution), 308-320 (the role of the Venezuelan democratic revolution in America); Anderson 1967:3-47 (American aid to La. Am. economic development); Arciniegas 1967:266-7 (Monroe Doctrine); Burr 1967:1-237 (perspectives in U.S.-La. Am. relations), 176-226 (U.S. and Alliance for Progress); Clissold 1966:7-19 (introduction); Connell 1966; de León 1967:117-128 (anti-Americanism); Gerassi 1963:40-7 (news and facts), 224-248 (U.S.-La. Am. inter-history), 251-343 (Alliance for Progress), 305-316 (military aid), 317-331 (AID in Colombia), 332-343 (political considerations), 406-424 (U.S. policy in La. Am.), 427-433 (Agreement between U.S. and Honduras), 434-442 (Agreement between U.S. and Nicaragua); Hanke 1967a:9-68 (U.S.-middle American relations); Hirschman 1961:53-68 (Inter-Am. relations); Hyde 1967:47-51 (another Cuba that wasn't); Keen 1967: 508-529 (two Americas); Leyburn 1966:305-311 (Haiti and the U.S.); Loprete 1965:194-206 (Pan-Americanism); Schurz 1964:252-297 (internat'l relations); Szulc 1965:233-316 (alliance with the U.S.); Tomasek 1966:310-346 (U.S. assistance in a revolutionary setting); Véliz 1968:243-250 (U.S. and Cuba), 301-6 (U.S.-Puerto Rico), 414-488 (foreign relations), 533-542 (aid to La. Am.).

FOOTNOTES

1. A fine handbook devoted to the postage stamps of Guatemala is scheduled for publication late in 1968 by Robson Lowe Ltd., 50 Pall Mall, London, S. W. 1, Great Britain. The pre-publication price will be \$17.50; after publication \$20.00.
2. For further information write to Foreign Language Innovative Curricula Studies, Title III, ESEA, 550 City Center Building, 220 E. Huron, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108.
3. The following publications were indexed: Adams 1960, Alexander 1962, Alexander 1964, Anderson 1967, Arciniegas 1967, Burr 1967, Clissold 1965, Connell 1966, Crawford 1961, de León 1967, Frank 1967, Gerassi 1963, Hanke 1967a (Vol. 1), Hanke 1967b (Vol. 2), Heath 1965, Hirschman 1961, Hyde 1967, Johnson 1964, Johnson 1958, Keen 1967, Leyburn 1966, Lipset 1967, Loprete 1965, Martz 1965, Mecham 1966, Möerner 1967, Pohl 1967, Robinson 1967, Schurz 1963, Smith 1968, Szulc 1965, Tomasek 1966, Ureña 1966, Véliz 1967, Véliz 1968, Wagley 1968, Wagley 1958.

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8

AN EXPERIMENT IN BILINGUALITY, CONCEPT FORMATION AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT *

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Bilinguality

It has been noted that in homes where two languages are spoken to children who are developing basic concepts there is usually no problem in the children using both languages to express themselves. This may not be evident until the age of five or six or even later, and they may have a preference for one language then, a dominant language.

Some educators in Guatemala wondered what would happen to children's conceptual development if from the ages of two-and-a-half to five they were exposed to a structured program of concept development using two languages, Spanish and English. In developing this experimental program the nature and characteristics of young children were taken into account, the nature of concepts and their formation, and the role of language in concept development, as were the types of sensory-motor experiences needed to develop concepts and language.

When children begin to speak in their native language they are verbalizing about discoveries they are making regarding their surroundings. They do this because of their growing need to communicate about these things with other people. As they learn concepts they learn language to accompany it.

What is a concept?

A concept, according to the dictionary, is a mental image of a thing formed by generalization from particulars. It is an idea of what a thing in general should be.

The spatial concept of "up," for instance, is "away from the center of the earth." Sometimes adults toss children up into the air and say, "Up we go!" A child wants to be carried and he learns to say "Up." He has grasped the general idea of what "up" is, but he will have many new experiences as he goes through life in which the concept of "up" as a spatial direction may denote more complicated ideas which are equally valid.

* From H. Ned Seelye, ed., *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1970, pp. 8-20.

It seems safe to say that one does not arrive at complete conceptualization at a point in time where he can feel that he knows all there is to know about one idea or one thing. It is more like a continuum.

No cognition Simple understanding
for communication Complete cognition

Therefore, our definition should emphasize that the general notion of a thing, even incompletely formed, is ours as soon as we can communicate to others about it with some sort of mutual understanding (3). We might say that when a child has learned to get what he wants from another person by saying it he has begun to conceptualize.

How are concepts formed?

In the above description it has been implied that one generalizes from numerous experiences about the idea of what a thing is like. One not only observes the thing, but he interacts with it by sensory experiences. He observes, he experiments; he forms ideas only to change them when his tentative thinking does not hold true. Sometimes he accidentally discovers a truth as he is manipulating or observing. He may then deliberately repeat an experimentation to see if this thing is really this way (10). Children may repeat activities many, many times (11).

A child pushes a toy which is suspended above his crib. It swings back and forth. Later he plays with a swing, he observes the pendulum on a clock. He holds an object on a string and watches it swing. He holds it in a small box and notices that the sides of the box restrict the full swing. So he takes the object out and it swings freely. He may accidentally bump into a hanging object which swings and hits him on the head. He begins to form notions about things that are suspended. He may learn words like "It swings," "back and forth," "up and down," etc. If a child is swinging and someone asks what he is doing he will learn to say, "I am swinging."

How are concepts used?

By interaction with the environment children gradually develop skills and concepts which enable them to solve problems and deal with the world rationally and creatively (8).

A child who has learned what bread is may ask for some to make a sandwich if he is hungry. He knows that if he desires something to drink bread will not meet his needs.

A child who wants to play with a swing but has none may find a piece of rope and tie it to a tree for a makeshift swing. Some day he may find that he can cross a turbulent stream or gorge which has no bridge by swinging across it on some vines.

What are the BASIC concepts?

Generally speaking, the ideas that people consider in ordinary daily living are the ones upon which all intellectual activity, at whatever level of sophistication, is based.

For example, a child says, "Mother and I are going shopping downtown. We will be back by 3:30 this afternoon." In this statement several basic concepts are alluded to: a. personal relationship (the speaker and another person); b. notion of space (downtown); c. notion of time (3:30).

These same concepts might be used on a more sophisticated level by an ornithologist. "The Arctic loon, smallest of the loon family, may be seen in Baja, California and Sonora in winter and spring only." In analyzing this statement it is readily seen that the basic concepts of real relationship, space and time, have been used.

Below is a minimal outline of basic concepts upon which the experimental bilingual program is based. It makes no claims to being complete. Indeed, as a beginning it was felt that it should be kept simple and uncluttered for optimum use. It is derived from a project created by the Board of Education of New York City and the Educational Testing Service called "First Grade Project in New York City Schools."

For expedience in the local situation the outline differs somewhat. It is still consistent, it is believed, with the original analysis of intellectual development as set forth by Jean Piaget and described by J. McV. Hunt on which the New York work was founded (2).

BASIC CONCEPTS FOR INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Classification

Of familiar objects

According to characteristics (attributes)

According to use

According to sensory stimuli

Of actions and events

Relationships

Between people, animals, animals and people

Between objects

Between actions and events

Likenesses and differences

Opposites

Seriation

Cause and effect

Time and space

Simple mathematical concepts

Numerous - relationships

One-to-one relationship

Conservation of quantity

The role of language in concept development

Usually when a child has interacted with concrete objects or events he begins to get ideas about them and needs to verbalize about them. He wants to communicate his findings to another person. In order to do this he must use language. At the same time he is describing his ideas with words he is assimilating more completely the generalization concerning a general class of things or events (7).

Piaget suggests that when a young child asks "What's that?" it is not so much language that is being acquired in this process as the concept of the general class itself (7).

After numerous experiences in which language is associated with a sensory-motor activity, the child acquires a "learning set" or a generalization which has a dual significance for him: first, being able to name and interact with concrete objects and events, and second, being able to communicate about them to other people (7).

The ability to use language is an important tool for thinking. Through language an individual internalizes his conceptualizations and thus is able to control them and adapt them. "A child who cannot say 'four' cannot answer the question, 'How much is two and two?'" (1).

As a child begins to use language more competently he begins to conceive more sophisticated notions about the classification of "things," relationships of things and people, cause and effect, he develops reasoning skills, awareness and responsiveness, general knowledge and imagination. "The climb from concrete objects to abstract concepts is slow for everyone, yet through language individuals can achieve this climb, reaching a better equilibrium and organization of their inner and outer worlds" (9).

It follows, then, that while children are learning the notions of the way things are they might learn to communicate about them in two languages instead of one. This was the position taken by the experimenters. The problem of the structure and content of the program had to be considered. What, precisely, should the children be taught, and how?

The preceding list of basic concepts for intellectual development was organized and specifics added. The following basic language skills were delineated and organized according to recent linguistic practices (5). An effort was then made to fuse the two structures through a sequential program of experiences so that one would complement the other.

The sequence of language activities for developing bilingual skills is arranged so that the structure of the language is clear to the teacher and presented to the children so they can generalize regarding syntax, formation of inflectional endings, etc. Constant attention is also given the pronunciation skills including phonemic sounds, melody pattern and the rhythm of the second language.

AN OUTLINE OF LINGUISTIC SKILLS

Listening

Auditory perception

Auditory discrimination

Auditory comprehension

Speaking

Reproduction of sounds of language

Responses beyond repetition

Pre-reading

Visual perception of like and unlike symbols

Left-to-right eye progression

Understanding that symbols have arbitrary meaning

Recognizing certain words at sight

Learning simple phonic cues

Writing

Control of writing materials

Tracing models

Copying models

Writing simple responses

Thinking with language

Content words

- Names of objects, people, animals
 - Plural forms
 - Pronouns: number, case, gender
- Names for actions.
 - Tense of verbs
 - Agreement in number and case
- Names for qualities

Function words

- Determiners
- Auxiliaries
- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Interrogatives
- Degree words
- Modals

Syntax - order of words for meaning

- Declarative sentence
- Interrogative sentence
 - Position of modifiers

Melody pattern for meaning

Activities for conceptualizing and verbalizing

What kinds of experiences and activities should be devised to stimulate conceptualization and verbalization in relation to the outlines?

In planning the activities, guide lines prescribed by the learning psychologists in what are generally accepted conditions of learning were helpful (4):

1. *We learn best what is meaningful.* Therefore, activities have to be planned which are within the present grasp of the student. A young child is interested in playing house or store, in playing with toys, in pretending to be grownup. He likes to manipulate blocks and easy puzzles. He likes to play group games. He likes to imitate. Actual participation in these activities is meaningful to him and his learning is based on many of these experiences.

2. *There is a transfer of learning.* If a child has learned a concept in several experiences, he can then transfer that generalization to other similar problems. If he wants to move a truck loaded with blocks from a table to the floor, he may remember from previous experience that a heavy object may be rolled down a ramp easier than lifting it. If he uses a device to accomplish his objective in this way, he has transferred his knowledge to a new situation; he has

solved a new problem. There is more chance that transfer will take place if the teacher sets up situations in which a child can see the possibilities.

3. *We learn what we practice.* This is particularly true of skills development, and since language is a skill, practice is to be considered. Obviously there should be many activities such as games, songs, stories, flannelboard stories, etc., which provide opportunity for interesting repetition and practice. Drill carried on by an enthusiastic teacher may be effective. There are occasions when drill is the most expedient way to accomplish an objective. Care should be taken that the practice is correctly done, otherwise mistakes are reinforced.

4. *The learner needs to know what is expected of him.* For this reason it is recommended that the student be given a good model to imitate. If he is to repeat a statement or a word, it must be clearly presented immediately before hand. If he is to make circles he should have experience drawing around a circular cut-out, then, placing his pencil in a stencil circle, get the feel of making circles, trace circles, etc., before he is expected to draw a circle alone. Even then he should have one to look at.

5. *The learner should experience success.* If he makes a correct response, he feels good about himself and is eager to go on to other learnings. Success builds on success. This presupposes a careful planning of sequential tasks which the learner is capable of performing in such a way that he can proceed in a positive manner, to say nothing of maintaining an atmosphere conducive to hopeful feelings (1).

6. *Learning is increased by knowledge of the results.* When a child has made a correct response, he should be told that it is correct. Likewise, if the response is incorrect he should be given the model and an opportunity to respond correctly and immediately.

7. *Learning should be sequential and cumulative.* The activities should proceed from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex, from the concrete to the abstract. Each activity should be planned so that no more than one element is new. The structure of the subject must be outlined clearly (6). The activities of the experimental program have been numbered sequentially so that the teachers may understand the order and they have been placed with those understandings which they are to clarify and reinforce.

When a person has accumulated skills and understandings with which to solve certain problems, it is said he has achieved a "readiness." Readiness doesn't just happen. Certain developmental experiences need to be had to arrive at a given stage of maturity or readiness for the next step. Then the student is prepared to face, identify and solve new problems.

If children are helped along the path of intellectual growth, just as they are helped to learn to eat and speak then it must be done in a sane and rational manner. By applying our knowledge about the conditions of learning it is possible to help students, making the way relatively easy and pleasant, even exciting.

* * *

To illustrate how the experimental program is functioning, a brief description of the school is given and an incident related.

The school is the Los Angeles Nursery School in Guatemala City, Central America. It is in a house designed for a home with the usual rooms for family living. There is a large living room with fireplace which serves as a "common room" where large group activities are arranged: songs, games, dramatizations, "show and tell," quiet listening. There are two bedrooms, each with a bathroom, which serve as small group headquarters and classrooms. The garage serves as activity center for the youngest group. A dining alcove off the kitchen is the office. A large front yard bordered by tropical plants makes a place for nature study and an excellent play area with place for sandpile, running, games, etc. A large front porch is utilized for quiet games, talking, playing house and examining each other's toys. A back yard is a sort of hide-away where children sometimes go "to be quiet," or "to work alone."

The offering at Los Angeles is a combination of structured learning tasks, creative activities, and free play which is supervised only to the extent that potentially dangerous activities are diverted into socially acceptable ones. About 40 children between the ages of two and a half and five attend for three hours daily. Approximately 70% of these children are native speakers of Spanish, the others of English. In some cases one or both parents speak both languages, speaking only the dominant language in the home.

The program of concept-language development is limited to formal presentation one half to one hour daily. How-

ever, since there are both Spanish and English-speaking students both languages are learned incidentally to some degree on the playground, during game and story times, lunch time and free play.

Another element which is of inestimable importance is the personality and skill of the teachers. The three of them are completely fluent in both languages, warm, pleasant people, sensitive to children's needs and sensitive to opportunities for encouraging incidental learning. A climate conducive to learning is set by them.

There is very little expensive equipment, but a considerable amount of inexpensive, homemade materials have been prepared largely from castoffs and "junk" and with certain learning tasks in mind. The children accept these quite readily and enjoy using them.

A typical lesson is recounted below to illustrate how sensory-motor experiences are related to concept and language development in both Spanish and English.

A group of ten three-to-four-year-olds is seated on the floor in front of a flannel board with the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 placed at intervals across it. The teacher calls to a student,

"Carlos, ven acá, por favor. Mira lo que tengo en la mano. ¿Qué cosas son?"

Carlos replies immediately, *"Son círculos."*

"¿Cuántos círculos tengo?"

"Tiene tres círculos."

"Pon los 3 círculos debajo del número 3 en el franelógrafo, por favor."

He does so immediately.

"Muchas gracias, Carlos. Te puedes sentar."

Now, the teacher, switching to English, says, "Tommy, come here. Look what I have in my hand. What are they?"

"They are triangles."

"How many triangles do I have?"

"You have four triangles."

"Will you put the four triangles under the numeral four on the flannel board, please?" Tommy does so.

And so one, through all five numerals with one square, two sticks, and five rectangles completing the pattern.

Then the whole group chants, first in Spanish then in English, *"Un cuadro, dos palitos, tres círculos,*

cuatro triángulos, cinco rectángulos, one square, two sticks," etc.

"Are there more sticks than squares?"

"Yes, one more."

"How many more rectangles than triangles are there?"

All of the children understand the process and most of them can verbalize it in both languages.

* * *

Some generalizations after observing the experiment for about a year.

The youngest children, ages now about three years to four and a half years, have learned and can demonstrate their learning about spatial concepts *in, on, up, down, inside, outside, first, next to, at* (the table), and can verbalize about these concepts properly in new situations in their native language. Most of them will not verbalize in the second language although they respond to directions given by the teacher in that language.

They have learned "alike" and "different" in their own language and can arrange objects, pictures and abstract figures according to this classification.

They are aware of the nature of geometric shapes, can name four or five basic ones, both three-dimensional and two-dimensional, and some can see the relationship between, for example, a disc and a circle and can verbalize about it. "The circle is empty."

They understand numerosness up to five, "more than," "less than," "fewer than," "how many do I have?" and "how many are left?" Occasionally in group recitation a child will verbalize in his second language, but this is not forced. Usually the language expressions occur only with their teacher but not with strangers.

The older children, aged about four and a half to five and a half, are better able to verbalize in two languages about the same sorts of concepts mentioned for the younger children, and they can do it on a more sophisticated level.

Pre-reading experiences have turned into early reading experiences for some. Most of them can distinguish between the letters "a" and "d," for instance, and describe the visual difference. Several of them have generalized from the example "ala," the words "pala," and "sala."

The teachers, after seven months, began searching for small books with simple language based on simple basic

concepts. Since these are extremely difficult to find, especially in Guatemala, the experimenters and teachers are creating their own. The children seem not to mind the crude presentation as long as it is profusely illustrated in color and their names are used frequently in the "stories."

Experience leads the experimenters to believe at this point that many children are ready to read by the age of five or earlier if they are properly prepared with sequential sensory, motor, intellectual and language experiences prior to the period of beginning reading. In writing, too, if they are not faced with learning to handle all the writing materials at the same time they are learning the shapes of the letters, the writing process may evolve more smoothly and easily. In this activity, especially, results of the rules, known to unknown, simple to complex, and concrete to abstract were observed.

Tests are being developed for various levels and to be administered under various circumstances. Some of the children will go on to kindergartens where standardized tests are administered. These results will also be available for examination.

It is hoped that a follow-up of several years will be possible to discover the relationship between early bilingual training, concept development and later school performance.

Walter Lózan's cogent expression of the relationship between language and experience sums up the belief of the planners of this experiment:

"Through experience and through language we learn.

"Experience needs language to give it form.

"Language needs experience to give it content.

"Learners need to be open to experience, to live fully, and to arrange, shape and clarify their experience by expressing it in effective language. Here is the base of true education, whether in school or in life" (9).

Are our lives not more effective if we can express our thinking in two languages? And why not start early?

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9

A CULTURAL FRAMEWORK FOR TEACHING SPANISH TO CHILDREN *

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When we teach Spanish to children, let's remember to include information about the way Latin American and Spanish peoples live, feel and act. A cultural background helps to make language learning easier, and it certainly makes it more fun. Beyond this, knowledge of the culture will help to develop in our pupils a more sympathetic understanding of the ways of another people. We, as teachers, should be reasonably fluent in the language, and we should have firsthand knowledge of the way Latin American people behave in their own societies, in order to create such an atmosphere in the classroom.

Let's explore some of the ways in which we can lead our pupils to an awareness of life in the Spanish-speaking world. Our very first task will probably be to convince pupils that Spanish is real speech spoken by millions of real people who live in many real countries. This poses some interesting problems in teaching Spanish to young children, for to them the world beyond their own small persons is often something very fuzzy, indeed.

This is not to say that language learning should not be begun at an early age—far from it. But it is to say that cultural concepts will be better understood when the child reaches greater maturity. Before the time the child gains greater awareness of the world beyond his own, however, great benefits may be derived from early training in the language.

Now, where do we begin? First, we teach the young child to talk in Spanish about himself, his family, his friends, and his own everyday activities. As we do this, however, we encourage active participation in certain characteristic gestures and speech patterns of Spanish-speaking peoples. For example, the children may be taught to shake hands when they greet each other with *Buenos días*. *¿Qué tal?*, and they may be taught to give the "come

* From H. Ned Seelye, ed., *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1970, pp. 28-41.

hither" signal with their hands when they say *Adios*. Pupils may learn the diminutive form of their friends' names, and subsequently the widespread use of diminutives in Spanish speech. They may learn simple jingles and proverbs that pepper Spanish speech. They may learn that in Spanish, animals have *patas* (legs) rather than *piernas* (legs), and they may learn that even the animals "speak Spanish" in that culture, for Spanish-speaking dogs say *guau-guau*, chicks say *pío, pío*, and roosters say *qui-qui-ri-quí*.

Practical everyday aspects of life in Latin America may be presented most easily through conversation in Spanish about such subjects as meal time, different foods and table customs, clothing, shopping in different kinds of stores, and home life. Children like to talk about relationships with family members, and lessons on this topic give them an opportunity to become aware of cultural aspects of family life in Spanish-speaking countries. For example, the particular ways universal concerns are expressed, such as: the dominance of the father, respect for adults, and the place of women and children in the society are of great interest to our children. School activities may also serve as the basis for much language learning, and this topic helps to develop a sense of identification with the child in a Spanish culture.

It goes without saying that the cultural activities talked about and demonstrated must be within the range of the children's understanding. It does no good to talk about Juan who lives on a coffee plantation in Costa Rica if they have no conception of what Juan looks like, what his home is like, what he eats, and how he spends his time at school and at play. Children in one of our schools were surprised and interested to find that a visitor from Argentina looked very much like themselves, wore fashionable dresses, and at home lived in a city much like their own.

All of this is to say that, in the beginning, cultural concepts must be simple and practical, and the subjects presented must be of a kind that the child can relate to himself and the world he knows. After this first stage, the child's horizons may be expanded through snatches of history and elemental bits of geography.

Children with a basic working vocabulary enjoy brief accounts of historical figures like Columbus or Cortez. These may be done in very simple Spanish because the pupils already have some knowledge of these historical figures from their social studies. Likewise, simple geographical concepts may be introduced, so that a basic

knowledge is gained of where the Spanish-speaking countries are, what the climate is like in those countries, where the volcanos and jungles are located, and something about them. What do they look like? Are they hot? Do snakes live there? Children may be taught the location and certain interesting characteristics of large important cities. They like to know about modes of transportation, what the sidewalks are like, what kinds of houses people live in, what the schools are like, what the markets are like, what people do for recreation, and so on.

As the child is brought to a realization of the location and characteristics of these countries, he may be introduced to the folk tales and legends from the different areas. This, because of the child's limited vocabulary, is best done in English at a class period especially set aside for this activity. Much cultural knowledge may be gained from these sessions, and they enhance language learning. Folk tales and legends also serve as an introduction to future study of the literature of Spanish-speaking countries.

Universally popular fairy tales such as *Little Red Riding Hood*, *The Three Bears*, and *Chicken Little* may be told in simple Spanish. They serve to bridge the cultural gap when children learn that they are told, read, and enjoyed in Spanish-speaking countries as they are in the United States.

By the end of the first phase, the children should have been brought through the following stages: (1) practical and simple language directly pertinent to the child; (2) a superficial knowledge of certain customs most easily understood; (3) acquaintance with some historical figures; (4) some knowledge of Spanish countries and cities; (5) an introduction to folk tales and legends.

The child now has a basic body of knowledge, both in the language and of the culture. He is presumably in the late months of the sixth grade or in the seventh grade, and he is now ready to begin reading and writing Spanish. In the beginning, he will again be most successful and comfortable when he reads about everyday affairs: getting up in the morning, getting dressed, eating breakfast, going to school, playing ball, taking a walk, and so forth. But he usually is able to move much faster, and he begins to be more curious about the daily affairs of Juan and Maria in Chile, Spain, or Costa Rica. This is when the well-traveled teacher is truly invaluable. When questions arise, the teacher "who has been there" can make use of all his experiences and bring Spanish culture to life for his pupils.

He will often have slides and motion pictures to show what the country is really like, and if the teacher shows up in some of the pictures, so much the better, for then the pupils are able to identify with the teacher and vicariously enjoy the trip to the strange land.

In establishing reading skills, it is most satisfying to both teacher and pupil, at this stage, if suitable reading material can be found about boys and girls who live in Spain, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Mexico, and other Spanish-speaking countries. Culture and language blend inextricably in the minds of youngsters who have reached this stage. The older child enjoys identifying with a youngster from another culture far removed from his own.

The youngster in junior high school is most interested in sports, in travel, and in history (especially stories about the Aztecs and the conquest of Mexico). He is interested in social aspects of life. (How does the status of men, women and children differ?) He is fascinated by bullfighting. Girls are particularly interested in the Spanish boy-girl relationship, clothes, and the regional art, music and dance. This is a period of great inquiry and great interest, and good films, filmstrips, records, pictures, and realia are extremely valuable and make lasting impressions.

Whether Spanish is first taught in the grades or in the junior high school (seventh and eight grades), the primary contact with culture is by necessity through the language itself, for the language mirrors the culture. Even young children will gain some insight into the culture as they learn to talk about concrete objects like the kinds of houses Spanish-speaking people live in, the kinds of food they eat, the way towns and cities are laid out, what the country folk do and how they live. Children also gain insight as they learn songs and listen to music typical of a region, as they learn to play games Spanish-speaking children play, and so on. They tend to identify with children from Spanish-speaking countries when they learn rhymes that are popular with them. For example, I watched children in a primary school in Cuernavaca as they played a game that began with the following elimination rhyme:

De tin marín
dedo pingue,
cúcara, mácara,
títere fue.

I introduced it to one of my classes, and explained how it was used by the children in Cuernavaca. The children learned it with enthusiasm and made it their own by using it

in their own play periods. Similarly I heard the familiar tongue twister *Erre con erre* many times at social gatherings in Costa Rica. Our children learned it eagerly, and incidentally developed a remarkable rolled *r* in the process.

Spanish-speaking people as a whole appear to be more verbal than most Americans, and their speech is liberally sprinkled with rhymes, jingles, and proverbs. One commonly hears sayings like *Poco a poco se va lejos*; or *No entran moscas en boca cerrada*; or *Dime con quien andas y te diré quien eras*: in everyday conversation. The universal use of proverbs gives pupils some idea of the importance and impact of verbal expression in Spanish-speaking countries and also some idea of the rather conservative social attitudes that prevail in contrast to the attitudes of large segments of our society.

A study unit on travel, built around the idea of flying to Mexico City, and incorporating a stroll down Avenida Juárez or the Paseo de la Reforma, a visit to Chapultepec Park, and a meal in a restaurant, provide for older pupils not only an opportunity to learn vocabulary and verb forms, but also serve to give important insight into life in that city. The same kinds of vocabulary can be used in a travel unit with a destination of, say, Minneapolis, but the cultural impact will be utterly lost.

Ideally the teacher should have firsthand experience in order to transmit the sights and sounds of another country to his pupils, but, even if he lacks this, much can be done with filmstrips and films. Many of these are now available, and by judiciously choosing materials suitable to the age of the youngsters the teacher may still bring much of cultural value to a unit on travel.

The comments expressed above apply equally to study units centered on family life, school, children at play, rural life, shopping in stores and in open-air markets, and to other facets of life in Latin America. The language takes on real meaning when it is taught within the context of the culture.

Vicarious participation in Latin American culture may be encouraged by having at hand all kinds of realia (bought, begged, or borrowed), colorful travel posters, a set of flags, picture postcards, Spanish language magazines, recordings, and books. Let the children handle the toys, articles of clothing, pottery, coins, baskets, and so on. Let them look at the magazines, post cards and books when they have spare time. Handling the "real thing" tends to encourage children to speak the language. A child with

pesos and centavos in his hands learns to talk about and understand Mexican money, and the exchange of real coins makes his classroom "shopping expedition" a real experience for him. How much more effective this is than learning dialogs and structure drills as entities in themselves!

Most children love to make and manipulate hand puppets. When teaching a unit on clothing, encourage youngsters to make hand puppets and dress them in appropriate articles of clothing. They can get ideas from the classroom collection of pictures, from filmstrips and films, and from magazines and books. Have the children "write" a play for the puppets. This may be done by having the children decide what the play will be about and then having them orally develop the lines in Spanish. The teacher can write them on the chalkboard or on a large sheet of paper. After the play is "written," a small group may memorize the lines and put on a puppet show for their classmates, for other classes, for assemblies, or for a gathering of parents. Properly guided, the speech will be authentic, though very simple, and the Spanish characters will come to life, thus giving a feeling for real people in Spanish-speaking countries. Children identify with their hand puppets and tend to lose self-consciousness, thereby enhancing their spoken Spanish as a bonus to the cultural activity.

When formal lessons are in progress, authentic gestures should accompany speech whenever appropriate, for the "silent language" is just as eloquent (sometimes more so) than the spoken word. Teach the children to shrug their shoulders, talk with their hands, tilt their heads, roll their eyes, and generally use all the paralinguistic gestures and bodily movements that go with the things they say. The gestures are of universal interest to the children and enhance speech.

Whenever Spanish-speaking persons are available in the community, invite them to the classroom to talk with the children. Children enjoy hearing stories about the visitor's life in his own country. Authentic contacts make a lasting impression.

All cultural information need not be imparted in Spanish. There is a place for relating anecdotes, for telling about historical episodes, and for telling folk tales to children in English. Most children in the intermediate grades will have studied something about the geography and history of the Latin American countries, and probably something about Europe and Spain, so a body of knowledge is already pres-

ent. The task of the Spanish teacher is to relate the knowledge gleaned from social studies to the culture and the language of the countries. The Spanish teacher is in a position to make history a cultural experience for his pupils when he relates tales of the Spanish Conquest or tells about the stirring times of the Mexican Revolution.

The beauty of the language itself may be communicated to the children by teaching them simple poems, first for their beauty of sound, then for their meaning. Two that are particularly effective are *Los sentidos* by Amado Nervo and *Canción tonta* by Federico García Lorca. These poems have the advantage of being fun to say, and they are easy to learn. In addition, a great deal of useful vocabulary and structure is presented in poetic form. As they are ready, the children may be shown the relationship of the language used here to the language as they learn it in more formal lessons. Even young children enjoy hearing a body of language as it is actually used after they have learned enough basic vocabulary to get the sense of a poem like *Los sentidos*.

If we are to give our pupils a well rounded Spanish cultural background, we should not neglect the fine arts. Children find stories about Velázquez, El Greco, Goya and our modern-day Picasso interesting. Inexpensive prints of their paintings may be brought to the classroom, and trips to an art gallery may be planned. In many instances the subjects of the paintings are of interest to the children. For example, Velázquez' painting *Las Meninas*, with the Infanta Margarita as the central figure, captures the imagination. A picture like this can lead to an interesting discussion of court life in the middle of the 17th Century, and many children find it interesting to do some research in the library on the life and times of Philip IV and of Velázquez. Naturally the works of the famous Mexican artists and the remarkable mosaics in Mexico City should form part of the background given on the Spanish artistic world.

For children, music and dancing will seem almost synonymous, for many of the children's songs from Latin America are really game songs or are songs that accompany folk dances. Songs like *El patio de mi casa*, *Arroz con leche*, *Los pollitos*, *Ambosado* (sometimes known as *Matarile-rile*), and *Dos y dos son cuatro* are distinctly children's songs and form an authentic cultural tie for English-speaking children. These may be learned and repeated frequently in the classroom. Children love them, and they enjoy carrying out the actions or playing the games,

as the case may be. Meanwhile, they learn a great deal of Spanish!

Children may also be introduced to other Spanish music, both popular and classical, through recordings. The music of the bullfight is dramatic and exciting and can serve as an introduction to the Spanish view of bullfighting and its importance in the social scene. Music is such an integral part of life in Latin America that it should not be neglected in giving pupils a broad cultural background.

Dancing also is important. Children in Central American countries, for example, spontaneously and unselfconsciously dance to the sound of the guitar, an orchestra, or the juke box. Children dance at home and at parties; they dance at school, and out on excursions. Something of this spontaneity can be brought to the classroom by the teacher who has experienced the delight of watching children in Latin American countries.

Sports constitute an important part of the Latin American cultural scene. Soccer or *fútbol* is taken very seriously. Baseball is popular. *Los charros* in their Sunday meets in Mexico City and elsewhere enjoy their horses and exhibitions. Basketball is rapidly gaining great popularity. And, of course, bullfighting is the indigenous sport in many Spanish American countries and in Spain. Much insight may be gained from reading about these sports and by having the teacher relay his firsthand experience at these events. Young people will be interested to learn about the reactions of the crowds and of the individuals who participate in these sports, for the reactions are revealing of the temperament of the Latin male, and indeed of the temperament of the people.

Social mores grow out of the temperament of the people, and for the child to really understand attitudes within the Latin American culture, he needs to understand some of the social customs. Admittedly the understanding will be superficial because of the youth of the pupils, but they will gain more understanding of the language through some knowledge of social customs and attitudes.

For example, extreme politeness is built into the language and into ordinary daily communication. A young woman leaving a *pesero* taxicab will, upon paying the driver, usually say something like *Ud. es muy amable, Gracias*. When one buys a bus ticket, the ticket seller will often say *¿En qué puedo servirle?* (How may I serve you?) After the buyer has stated his destination, the number of tickets he needs, and completed the transaction, the ticket seller

most likely will send him off with a cheery *¡Haga Ud, un feliz viaje, señor!* The children should be made aware that the speech is liberally sprinkled with polite phrases—*Hágame el favor de . . . , Muchas gracias, De nada, Por favor, Dispénseme*, and so on.

The church and religion have an important place in the social scheme. Pupils should be given some understanding of the history and impact of the Catholic church in Spain and in Latin America. Religious festivals are important and are a very real part of life. Great festivals take place all over Latin America all year long. Children may be told that Christmas in Latin America is a religious celebration rather than the secular celebration that it has become in the United States. The beautiful music of the *Posadas* and the Mexican tradition during the Christmas season may be re-enacted to give the youngsters an idea of this custom. Children may be told about the celebration of the Day of The Three Kings on January 6, as another part of the Mexican Christmas tradition.

Spanish, like any language, can only be learned meaningfully when it is learned within its cultural context. For the child learning Spanish, the cultural framework must generally consist of practical material he can understand. The remarks made above come from experience in teaching children, and discovering the things they are interested in. When we keep the child in mind, and build on his native curiosity and interest in people, we not only teach him Spanish, but give him the basis for real communication in another tongue, as we engage in the most delightful and rewarding occupation: teaching Spanish to children.

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Resource Books

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An excellent resource book for the teacher engaged in teaching foreign language to children.

Lado, Robert. *Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach*, McGraw-Hill, Inc., New York, 1964. Hard cover - \$6.50; soft cover - \$3.95

The chapters on *Language and Culture* and *Cultural Content and Literature* are particularly interesting and useful.

Cornfield, Ruth R., *Foreign Language Instruction: Dimensions and Horizons*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1966. \$3.95

A handbook on teaching foreign language to children. The chapter on the approach to culture contains many practical suggestions.

Toor, Frances, *Mexican Folkways*, Crown Publishers, New York, 1947. \$7.50

This book is full of all kinds of cultural information on Mexico. It is copiously illustrated, and contains, in addition to all kinds of cultural information, songs, dance music, myths, tales, children's games and verses. This is a valuable addition to anyone's library.

Storybooks for Children
(in English)

Newman, Shirlee P., *Folk Tales of Latin America*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis and New York, 1962. \$3.25

A collection of tales and fables from Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, Chile, Guatemala and other Latin American countries. Fine for reading to children or to have on the children's reading table.

Dolch, Edward W. and Marguerite P., *Stories from Mexico*, Garrard Company, Champaign, Illinois, 1962. \$2.40

A book for young children. This is a collection of legends and folktales retold in very simple English. Suitable for primary grades.

Cavanna, Betty, *Carlos of Mexico*, Franklin Watts, New York, 1964. \$3.95

An interesting portrayal of the life of a boy in Puerto Vallarta. Well illustrated with photographs. This book appeals particularly to youngsters in the intermediate grades.

Kirtland, G. B., *One Day in Aztec Mexico*, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York, 1963. \$2.67

Geis, Darlene, *Let's Travel to Mexico*, Children's Press, Inc., Chicago, 1965. \$3.95

Not a storybook, but it reads like one. Excellent commentary and cultural background. Beautiful full-page color plates.

Geis, Darlene, *Let's Travel in Spain*, Children's Press, Inc., Chicago, 1964. \$3.95

A companion to *Let's Travel in Mexico*. Excellent cultural background. Beautiful full-page color plates.

Filmstrips

1. *Encyclopedia Britannica Educ. Corp.*
Department 10A
425 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar
(color)

Set of 6 - \$69.00

National Geographic Society made these filmstrips. They are accompanied by records narrated in English. Remarkable color shots and excellent narration. A highly recommended set of filmstrips for either Spanish or Social Studies classes.

2. Studyscopes
P.O. Box 25943
Los Angeles, California
90025

Living in Mexico Today (color)
Authentic background material on
Education, Housing, Markets and
Shopping, Places of Interest,
Recreation, Transportation, Working.
Set - \$57.00

For young children these are best used with comments by the teacher. A tape (in Spanish) accompanies the strips — useful toward the end of Level I.

3. Studyscopes
P.O. Box 25943
Los Angeles, California 90025

La Juventud de America Latina (color)
La juventud de la ciudad
La juventud de la provincia
Las escuelas secundarias
Las ferias y un paseo en Acapulco
Set - \$31.50

Best for junior high age. Good pictures and Spanish commentary on tape.

4. EAV (Educational Audio-Visual, Inc.)
Pleasantville, New York 10570

Let's Visit South America

Let's Visit Mexico
Let's Visit Spain
La Corrida
 Set of 4 Spanish Language
 Tapes (color) - \$41.85

These strips are in color and give an overview of people and places. The South American strip shows shots of Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, Peru, and other countries.

5. McGraw-Hill
 Text Films Division
 330 W. 42nd Street
 New York, N.Y. 10036

Nuestros Vecinos Latinoamericanos
 (color)
 Set - \$45.00

The filmstrips are well done and give a good picture of life in several Latin American countries. There is a filmstrip about each of the following countries:

Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, and Peru

A record accompanies each strip. The Spanish narration is clear and fairly simple.

6. SVE (Society for Visual Educ., Inc.)
 1345 Diversey Parkway
 Chicago, Illinois 60614

Taxco, A Spanish Colonial City
 (color)

The Historical Triangle—

Mexico City, Cuernavaca and Puebla
 \$10.00 each

Both filmstrips are narrated in English on records. The filmstrips and narration combine to give a good panoramic picture of these cities. They serve as excellent cultural background.

Films

7. (Distributor)
 Paul Hoeffler Language Teaching Films
 Walt Disney 16 mm Films
 800 Sonora Avenue
 Glendale, California 91201

(All color)

Pablo de Yucatán \$115.00
La ciudad de México \$165.00
Taxco, pueblo de arte \$165.00
Una familia de un pueblo mexicano . \$165.00

These are all excellent color films, narrated in simple Spanish. *La ciudad de México* is particularly good because of its emphasis on modern buildings, industry, and the cosmopolitan aspect of the city.

8. Encyclopedia Britannica Educ. Corp.
 Department 10A
 425 N. Michigan Avenue
 Chicago, Illinois 60611

The Day Manolete was Killed
 (black & white)
 \$155.00

A film made with a series of still photographs. Gives an authentic and moving account of the life of Manolete. Useful for late junior high. Narrated in English.

9. McGraw-Hill
 Text Films Division
 330 W. 42nd Street
 New, York, N.Y. 10036

El Peru
 (color)
 \$200.00

A beautiful film that gives a good picture of life in the cities as contrasted with life in a mountain village. Much information is given on the economy and industry of Peru. It is narrated in Spanish. Useful for late Level I.

10. (Distributor)
 Henk-Newenhouse
 1825 Willow Road
 Northfield, Illinois 60093

México—Tierra de color y contrastes
 (color) \$155.00 - Neubacher-Vetter

Excellent overview of Mexico. It has beautiful sequences showing the mountains, vegetation and seashore. Interesting shots contrast the colonial towns of Querétaro, San Miguel Allende and Taxco with modern Mexico City. Narration is in Spanish. Useful for Level I.

Records

11. Neil A. Kjos Music Company
525 Busse Highway
Park Ridge, Illinois 60068

Language Through Songs Series (1961)-Beatrice and Max Krones

Cantemos, niños!

Cantemos en Español, Book 1 (Vol. 1 & 2)

12. Goldsmith's Music Shop, Inc.
(See Below)

Cantemos en Español, Book 2 (Vol. 1 & 2)

Set - \$36.25

The records accompanying songbooks are excellent. They contain a very complete selection of all kinds of Spanish songs and are eminently useful.

13. Stanley Bowmar Company, Inc.
4 Broadway
Valhalla, New York 10595

Latin American Game Songs

\$4.95

This record contains sixteen folksongs and complete instructions for the games are provided. Popular children's songs include *Arroz con leche*, *San Saverino*, *La Viudita del Conde Laurel* and *Al Quebrar la Piñata*. This is a very good record for young Spanish pupils.

14. Goldsmith's Music Shop, Inc.
Language Department
401 W. 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Mexican Folk Songs

GMS - DISC 7008 (vocal) \$6.95

GMS - D 7009 (instrumental) \$6.95

A collection of popular songs including *La Paloma*, *Chiapaneacas* and *Cuatro Milpas*. Both records are fine for the classroom. A song sheet with the works is included.

15. Goldsmith's Music Shop, Inc.
Language Department
401 W. 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Pan American Folk Dancing

\$4.95

Music, words and instructions for the dance steps are included for twelve Latin American folk dances. The countries represented include Argentina, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Chile and many others. An excellent recording.

16. Goldsmith's Music Shop, Inc.
Language Department
401 W. 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

A los toros!

\$7.95

It is an album composed of a book and record. A complete description of the bullfight is written in Spanish, and illustrated with line drawings. Music of the bullfight recorded at the Plaza de Toros de Madrid.

10

CULTURE CAPSULES *

H. Darrel Taylor
John L. Sorenson
Brigham Young University

For many years foreign language teachers across America have tried to bring into their classrooms a "feeling" for the peoples whose language they teach. These attempts have most often stressed the refinement definition of culture, drawing from the fine arts and folklore. There is a place in the classroom for culture in this sense and there are many fine materials available.

No concerted effort has been made within the teaching profession or by commercial firms to produce materials for a comparison of cultures in the anthropological sense. Nelson Brooks (1960) has written on the theory of comparison of cultures in a chapter entitled, "Language and Culture." Robert Lado (1957) has a valuable chapter on "How to Compare Cultures." Worthwhile insights on the importance of an anthropological orientation to the study of culture are contained in these books. What follows suggests a method of procedure for the production of short, meaningful programs using this view of culture for application in the ordinary foreign language classroom. A handy title for these programs might be "Culture Capsule." These culture capsules can be constructed so that any teacher, new or experienced, may present them easily, and his students may all participate meaningfully.

In order that the procedures described below may be specific rather than general, it will be assumed that the problem is a comparison between the cultures of Mexico and the United States. Of course, the application of these ideas to a description of cultural differences between the United States and any other foreign language area is obvious.

We do not aim to give a complete and rounded picture of life in Mexico. The culture capsule technique tries to select those key cultural differences which are especially difficult for the outsider to understand on the basis of his own life experiences. Good examples from Mexico are the patrón

* From *The Modern Language Journal* 45, (December 1961): 350-354. Reprinted by permission of the publisher and Dr. Sorenson. Appeared also in pp. 15-18 of *A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers*.

system, latifundio, donship or the curandero. The functional equivalents of these patterns in life in the U.S.A. are likely to seem to the American student as so "natural" or "obvious" that he finds it difficult to think of Mexicans as other than "quaint" or worse. Each culture capsule draws attention to one such difference and shows how it is meaningful in terms of Mexican life. The whole integrated sequence of capsules over the period of a year sketches a picture of what it is like to be Mexican, showing that the customs make concatenated sense.

When we realize that there may be thousands of contrasting cultural features, the question arises, "How shall we decide which are more important than others?" Obviously, only a restricted number can be dealt with in a classroom course in Spanish or any other language. Our approach to this problem derives from the functional view of culture virtually held by all anthropologists. Culture is thought of as the more or less integrated, historically-derived system of symbols in the minds of the members of a society by which they interpret their experiences and predict the behavior of their fellows. This view emphasizes what culture does in the lives of people.

All patterns of regular, socially-approved behavior within the cultural system shared by members of a society more or less influenced all the other patterns of the system. The result is to produce a consistent, intelligible world in which the individual can carry on a psychologically meaningful existence. Failure to consider any one sector of the culture is likely to give the student a distorted view of why Mexicans, or any other group, act as they do. One listing of the various categories or sectors to which attention should be drawn in the study of any culture is as follows: Technology, Economy, Social Organization, Political Organization, World View (Religion and Philosophy), Esthetics, and Education. We believe that by being presented the key cultural contrasts for each of these categories on the language level which the student of Spanish has come to understand, he will be well on the way to both understanding and to sympathetic appreciation of the Mexican people.

The order of consideration of the categories has some significance. While no one order is sacred, there appears an advantage in starting with those areas where concrete phenomena dominate, such as Technology, only later progressing to the more abstract sectors, such as World View. That general progression can be observed below in the sample outline. There, words or phrases are used to sug-

gest, rather than to elaborate, contrasting cultural patterns which, students of Mexican culture would no doubt agree, differ significantly from American patterns. The list does not exhaust the possibilities.

We begin the outline with a "subcultural" category of contrasts in biological, geographical and historical features all of which are instructive for the student interested in cultural differences. It may prove desirable to omit them or relocate their position in the scheme of categories as actual experience in the classroom permits us to judge better their value.

I. Subcultural category

- A. Biological characteristics of the people (skin color, stature, common diseases, etc.)
- B. Resources category (lack of coal, lack of extensive plains for cultivation, ores, oil, large unused territories, water power, climatic variety, etc.)
- C. Geographical category
 - 1. Latin America not a homogeneous unit
 - 2. Mexico not a homogeneous unit
 - 3. Slowness of knowledge to penetrate due partly to distance
 - 4. Comparative distances and expenses to ship to population centers like Europe
- D. Historical category
 - 1. Spain's Catholic-Mediterranean position
 - 2. The age of discovery and Spain's place in it
 - 3. The conquest in America
 - 4. The Colonial era
 - 5. The Republican era
 - 6. The Modern era

II. Technological category

- A. Food-getting and using
 - 1. Cultivation and the major crops
 - 2. Preparing, serving, and eating typical foods
- B. Shelter-Housing (the patio form, barred windows, fronting on street)
- C. Clothing
 - 1. Forms: rebozo, serape, blouse, no shoes, broad-brim hat, etc.
 - 2. Age, class and ethnic significance of costume

D. Tools

1. Human or animal power, not power machines, typical
2. Hand crafts and equipment being replaced by industry

E. Transportation

1. Ass, oxen, humans most common
2. Increasing auto, bus, rail and air travel
3. Regionalism as related to transportation

III. Economic organization category

- A. Self-subsistence of the family, normal; specialization rare
- B. Haciendas (latifundio)
- C. Patrón system
- D. Agrarian reform (ejidos, etc.)
- E. Merchandizing system (markets, tiendas)
- F. Braceros
- G. Turismo

IV. Social organization category

- A. Kinship, family, and marriage
 1. Kin cooperation and in-law relations
 2. Courtship, the dueña system
 3. Inheritance, including names
- B. Race and ethnicity (mestizo, creole, indio, gachupín, etc.)
- C. Locality groupings
 1. The village, colonia, and so on as a loyalty unit
 2. Ecology of the community, most prestigious residence near the plaza; the plaza itself
 3. The contrast between rural and urban life.—
ed.]
- D. Interest and function groupings
 1. Classes (occupation, income, education, mobility, etc.)
 2. Donship
 3. Compadrazgo
 4. "The Church" vs. the State (anticlericalism, monastic orders, convents) Protestantism

V. Political organization category

- A. Law
 1. Roman law basis
 2. Personal violence, aggression, the duel

B. Government:

1. The Caudillo
2. Caciquismo
3. Single political party and elections
4. The military as a locus of power
5. Right to revolt (and "The Revolution")
6. Yanqui-baiting
7. Sindicalismo
8. La Mordida

VI. World View category

- A. View of God or the supernatural
 1. God, devil, Mary, demons, etc.
 2. Virgen de Guadalupe
 3. Patron saints
 4. Sickness and curing
 - (a) causes: espanto, evil eye, los aires, hot and cold
 - (b) curanderos
 5. Sorcery
- B. View of man
 1. Personal honor
 2. Male superior to female ("machismo")
 3. Self-improvement concept virtually absent (Sensuality or relaxation vs. Puritanism)
 4. Distant, jealous, suspicious relationships outside kin or village
 5. Logic, dialectic are superior to empiricism, pragmatism
- C. View of society and nation
 1. Heroes: Cuauhtemoc, Malinche, Montezuma, Cortés, Juárez, etc.
 2. Mexicanismo
 3. Indigenismo
 4. The State to be obeyed implicitly

VII. Esthetics category

- A. Fiestas (including Carnival)
- B. Bull-fighting
- C. Music (ranchería)
- D. Dancing (folk and formal)
- E. Humor
- F. Drinking patterns
- G. Sports

H. Children's games and toys

I. Fireworks

J. Literature

K. Theater and Movies

L. "El Charro" as a type

VIII. Education category

A. Schools and teaching methods

B. Universities

C. Analfabetismo and mass education

It will have been observed that the classroom presentation of the capsules might be oriented to several levels. For example, the general idea of "fiesta" might be treated with much or little detail, depending on the class's preparation for understanding the subject. This offers the possibility of using the same program of capsules for two or more years of student experience. Thus, the graduate student could go into considerable detail on fiestas while the introductory-level student is but briefly exposed to the key ideas involved.

It should be remembered that whatever the level of sophistication of the ideas in the culture capsule, the phrasing in Spanish of the classroom lesson will be appropriate to the class level. The culture capsule system is intended primarily to teach the language with culture content, an important but secondary accompaniment.

A method which can be used to develop one of these topics into a practical classroom presentation is now suggested.

An experienced teacher writes a script in simple Spanish which is carefully prepared to be on the level of the lexical and structural items in Spanish which the student has studied in class. This script is the capsule of summary description and explanation of the cultural difference between the Mexican and the North American. Although it would be written in Spanish for classroom use, an example (the bullfight) of such a summary might read like this:

In order to understand that in Mexico bullfights are not considered to be cruel to the bull, it is necessary to know something of the ideas of North Americans and Mexicans concerning animals. In the United States, animals are personified more often than in Mexican culture. In the United States there are Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; there are animal hospitals and cemeteries. We read of Elmer, the Borden Bull, and his "wife", Elsie and their "daughter", Daisy. Ferdinand, the timid bull, is content with flowers and is also the subject of a favorite story. Favorites of long standing are Donald Duck and Mickey Mouse.

Thus, we give animals the emotions and culture that people have. Mexican people think more of the bestiality of the animals. Animal bodies differ from human bodies. They have special names for animal feet, animal backs, and animal necks, as opposed to human feet, backs, and necks. Ferdinand is not the Mexican idea of a bull, nor is the ponderous dairy bull the Mexican concept of a bull. They think of him as a wild, strong, clever brute that depends upon strength and the instinct to live. Anglo-Saxon Americans think of a game fish or a wild beast in the same sense that a Mexican thinks of a bull.

The bullfight has many parts that come in a special order, and each has a complicated ritual. The procession with its pomp and ceremony presents the participants. An orchestra plays music which prepares the scene for each part in the show. The music instills a tragic note when we hear the announcement of the last part—the matador in his brilliant traje de luces who with sword and muleta in hand presents himself for the moment of truth, when the man will try to kill the beast.

The bullfight is an extravaganza of colors, music, and action. It is the most popular sport in Mexico. Bullfighters there enjoy the popularity that movie stars do in the United States. The great show of the matador's valor pleases the Mexican people very much, but beyond this it is an emotional experience in which the spectator sees the victory of a fearless, intelligent athlete over brute strength and animal cunning.

The intent of this script is to produce understanding, not merely tolerance, in the mind of the American who is learning Spanish. It is hoped that after tolerance of a foreign culture will come understanding, and that understanding will be followed by appreciation. Thus, peoples will be bound together by bonds of informed sympathy which take into account their basic differences understood as rationally as possible.

The script is to be illustrated by a few well-selected posters, filmstrips or slides, and at least one item of realia. This three-dimensional object should be very carefully chosen and must epitomize the positive side of the comparison. In our example, it could be a miniature of the bullfighter's costume—a thing of beauty—suit of lights as the Spanish call it! All these visual aids are presented by the teacher as he reads the script in the foreign language and are appropriately distributed in the presentation.

If the script uses cognates or place names which do not come within the lexical experience of the class, each of these should be printed in bold black letters on a separate "poster card" about 6" x 10" in size and placed on the board (groove, felt, black, etc.) before the class in easy sight before the lecture is begun.

The presentation probably should not last more than ten minutes. It should be self-contained and limited to ONE MINIMAL DIFFERENCE. All the talent and energies of the programmer should be directed to a simple statement of the essential difference and selection of the audiovisual aids which illustrate these dramatically. Pauses during the presentation to allow the students to study the aids are worth more than many extra words.

Once the culture capsule has been presented by the teacher and heard by the students, questions are asked by the teacher. The students are allowed to make brief notes as the culture capsule is presented but have no script to follow as the teacher reads. These questions are of two types: rhetorical and "open-ended."

The rhetorical questions are so phrased that the student must answer only "yes" or "no" and then repeat the words used in the question. For example:

Q: Do Mexicans enjoy bullfights?

A: Yes, Mexicans enjoy bullfights.

The difficulties of speaking the foreign language are enough for many students, without requiring them to contribute or remember ideas not suggested directly by a rhetorical question.

The "open-ended" questions are phrased in such a way that the student may supply one or more items of information on his own. Example:

Q: How does a Mexican think of the bull?

A: He thinks of the bull as a wild animal.

These questions are asked of the students who have a better control of the language. They lead to discussion of the important difference being studied. Involvement of all the students in a discussion after the presentation of a culture capsule is of vital importance to this system.

Experienced and well-traveled teachers probably have many pictures, slides, and realia which they use in their classes. Nevertheless, these are generally presented as a "change of pace" device and are not integrated into the total foreign language learning experience according to the level of development of the students. Many times the requirements of extracurricular activities keep a teacher from organizing the material he does have so they will accomplish a specific purpose. New teachers are at a great disadvantage in this phase of teaching.

The paraphernalia for any culture capsule can be devised so that it will fit into a shoe box and can be shelved library-style for cooperative use by many teachers. Thus, a

new teacher would be able to bring to his classes cultural information with about the same frequency and preparation as an experienced teacher. On each shoe box containing the aids and script for a culture capsule, there could appear a label with the following information: 1) the machines (tape, phonograph, film projector, etc.) needed to present the audiovisual aid; 2) topic and title of the culture capsule; and 3) the level of progress for which written. For example, there might be six culture capsules on kin relationships. The first geared to the level of beginning students; the second, for use near the end of the first year's study; and the third, for the beginning of a second year of study, etc.

Summer workshops in foreign language pedagogy could be encouraged to develop the materials for new culture capsules. In less populated areas, a clearing house for these could be set up in State Councils of Foreign Language Teachers, or State Federations of Foreign Language Clubs. In more populated areas, a central library of culture capsules could be worked out on a district or even a single school basis.

The culture capsule can normally be presented as a self-contained pedagogical unit in part of one class period (although two or three might be tied together into a larger unit if they are particularly related to each other). If this is done a minimum of once a week during the school year of 36 weeks, even these 36 culture capsules would go a long way toward bringing knowledge of the realities of life in a foreign land to students of the foreign language. Elaboration of the capsules in a second year of study would lead to expanded knowledge but within a consistent framework.

FOOTNOTE

1. Immediately after publication much interest was shown by language teachers in "culture capsules", and Dr. Taylor began to systematically prepare materials for classroom use. But a year later, with tragic prematurity, Dr. Taylor was killed in a vehicle accident while accompanying a troop of boy scouts on an outing. The loss to the profession which Darrel Taylor's death irrevocably presents is difficult to appreciate by one who did not know him personally; as a former student of his, the clarity of the stature and dynamics of the man, and the magnitude of the loss, have not been diminished by the intervening years. HNS

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TEACHING ASPECTS OF THE FOREIGN CULTURE THROUGH COMIC STRIPS *

Wendell Hall

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Enrique Lafourcade

Chilean novelist and professor

Lafourcade: How did you first become interested in cartoons as a medium for teaching language and culture?

Hall: One summer day in January, I was reflecting on my young son's astonishing ability in Spanish after only a few months' residence in Chile and it occurred to me that in addition to nearly total immersion in the language at school and at play, the stacks of comic books he was reading at home might also help account for his skill. I was concerned, too, over the possible harmful effects of such reading and so decided to examine the books.

L: Like the curate and the barber in *Don Quixote*.

H: I admit to a similar apprehension as to what I was getting into. On inspecting *Condorito* . . .

L: Created by René Ríos, who goes by the pen name "Pepo."

H: Right. And published by Zig-Zag. I was so surprised at the wealth of linguistic and cultural material presented that I began to consider, in spite of reservations natural to an educator, whether a format so extremely popular among the young might not merit serious investigation as a vehicle for imparting linguistic skills within a framework of situational contexts. Preliminary examination of the cartoons resulted in the following observations:

One: The language employed was natural and authentic, reflecting actual usage in a way which invited comparison with the type of speech that sometimes appears in textbooks.

* From H. Ned Seelye ed., *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1970, pp. 51-61.

- L: Would you care to illustrate that point?
- H: Take this sequence, for example. The customer says: "¡No, no! Nada de eso . . . Es para mi suegra." Condorito replies, "¡Haberlo dicho! Tengo justo lo que usted necesita!" In my opinion, such lively, everyday, indispensable expressions as "Why didn't you say so!" illustrate exactly the sort of thing students not only like to learn, but like to use.
- L: "To have said it!" Yes, very useful.
- H: Two:
 All dialog was accompanied by a visual representation of the situation in which it occurred, incorporating such elements as the age, sex, physical appearance, manner of dress, (indicative of profession, social, economic, educational status, etc.), and other personality characteristics of each speaker, and essential aspects of the setting (plaza, cafe, hacienda, etc., etc.)—frequently in considerable detail.
- L: Yes, even details like door knobs. As in this cartoon. Here's a cultural contrast you could comment on. The locks on Latin American doors are built primarily for opening from within. Should be, also, a metaphor of something?
- H: Once in Viña del Mar I tried to get a locksmith to replace the knob on our front door with the U.S. type that turns. My wife was tired of running to the door to let the kids and their friends in the house. The "maestro" thought I was crazy.
- L: Do students enjoy hearing descriptions of such cultural differences?
- H: So much so that I've found in my classes that I have to be very careful or the whole hour will be spent on culture instead of language learning. Nothing seems to interest students more, and I feel that any time lost from language study is more than made up for by their increased motivation and the fact that they study with real enjoyment.
- L: What values for language learning do you find in the drawings accompanying the dialog?
- H: Utterances memorized for recitation in the classroom are of little practical value to students without awareness of the circumstances in which they may be used.

Situational cues which guide the native in producing a given utterance are depicted in the cartoons. Such cues, of course, are not always the same for all cultures, and cues which seem to be identical may elicit different responses.

- L: You mean if I were to sneeze, you wouldn't automatically say "Health!"?
- H: Right. And if you saw me wearing a black armband, with your knowledge of our culture and of contemporary problems, you wouldn't ask if someone close to me had died.
- L: There's more to these cartoons than one might think. Viewed objectively.
- H: The drawings provide an essential frame of reference useful to the student both as a clue to meaning, for aural comprehension or reading, and as a cue for speech production, whether oral or written.
- L: Apparently you're not aware that you just missed a cue. That almost imperceptible raising of my left eyebrow was to indicate that I'm ready for the next point.
- H: Next point:
 Typical gestures, grimaces, and other kinesic aspects of communication were depicted.
- L: By other aspects, do you mean like how somebody walks? I can tell a norteamericano a block away by the way he walks.
- H: That sort of thing. This aspect of communication never fails to fascinate students and, of course, they must learn to recognize and control some of the more common gestures, at least, in order to communicate successfully.
- L: That's right. If you confused that 'Come here' signal with 'Adios' . . .
- H: Point four:
 Many paralinguistic and onomatopoeic phenomena were represented or suggested by an imaginative use of symbols.
- L: "Onomatopoeia, or the Bow-Bow Theory of the Origin of Language." Like the rest of us, primeval man couldn't pronounce it. He just invented it.
- H: ¡Plop!

L: ¡Plop! Pepo's favorite onomatopoeic effect, produced by someone falling over backward in comic disbelief.

H: My favorite is "¡Glup!," as someone swallows something or sinks beneath the surface. So suggestive of English "gulp."

L: What's so special about these phonetic phenomena as far as language learning is concerned?

H: They're the life of language. Is there anything deadlier or more deadly than a lab exercise where the voice on the tape projects a flat, monotonous reading pronunciation devoid of paralinguistic effects? Along with concomitant kinesic patterns, these convey the emotional components of communication.

L: Very true! Such components are always present in *Condorito*. I note here sobs, sighs, stuttering, groans, giggles, coughs, cries, snickers, whining, wheedling, whimpering, and more subtle vocal modulations associated with browbeating, pleading, seductiveness, obnoxiousness, manliness, plaintiveness, craftiness, naivete, airs of superiority, inferiority, pomposity, bonhomie, disappointment, glee, somnolence, benevolence . . . The inventory is endless.

H: As mentioned, such elements are often suggested through symbolic notation, though more often by the situation or through facial expression, etc.

L: Here are some typical "transcriptions:"
¡Jaaaaack, Jaaack! . . . Aaaaalo . . . Te decía que el
contra contra . . . contra . . . contrabando está . . .
enn . . .

Ta-ta-ta-ta-- (That's a machine gun)

AAAAGH! (riddled ganster slumps to floor)

¡TOC TOC! ¡TOC TOC! (footsteps in the apartment above)

¡UAAAAH! ¡UAAAAAAH! (a baby crying)

¡RIN! ¡RIN! (the telephone)

J! . . . J! . . . J! . . . No ha faltado desde hace dos
años . . . (a girl crying)

¡KIKIRIKIII! (a man imitating a rooster)

Desde luego que sí . . . Este . . . No sabía que tuviera
algún desperfecto . . .

Este . . . (a startled husband fumbling for words)

¡PLAM! (a door slamming shut)

¡TO!ING! (a metallic object hitting Condorito's head)

. . . Condorito dice que . . . ¡GRAUC! Dice que . . .

¡GRUAC! (the parrot Matías)

Se me enredan las palabras para darte una definición
enciclo . . . enciclo . . . ciclística . . . ¡HIP! (inebriated
speech)

H: Are you familiar with the recordings dramatizing *Condorito* prepared under the direction of Padre Pedro Rubio?

L: Yes, and I think that the range of vocal quality exhibited and the gamut of emotions portrayed is extraordinary. The sound effects are quite exceptional, too.

H: It takes highly skilled actors to record such natural sounding speech.

L: How come, when we've been speaking "naturally" all our lives, we can't continue to do so when placed on a stage or behind a mike?

H: Your question has important implications for the learning of foreign languages. "Mike fright" or "stage fright," in all its manifestations, is a phenomenon which deserves more study. Concepts of informal, formal, and technical learning and transfer of repertoires acquired in each mode to situations controlled by different contingencies undoubtedly are pertinent to an understanding of this problem.

L: It seems to me that someone learning a language in the classroom is in a situation which is just the reverse of the actor's. Through the experience of everyday life, the actor has already developed very extensive repertoires of verbal and non-verbal behavior which he has to transfer, or adapt, to the limited, artificial circumstances of the stage. The language learner learns a limited amount of behavior in very artificial activities (pattern practice, choral drill, parroting back responses, play acting) and then is expected to transfer this to the contingencies of daily life.

H: Both theory and common sense suggest that the greater the correspondence between contingencies associated with emission of a response of a given topography, the greater the ease with which transfer may be accomplished. But actual emission of the response and the exact form it may take (particularly

with respect to phonological characteristics) is difficult to predict and depends on factors hardly susceptible to analysis except through introspection. It may be that to a "born" actor, as the world is a stage, and he experiences internally in everyday life contingencies similar to those that affect behavior behind the footlights.

- L: Maybe the "born polyglot" has Everyman inside his skin and doesn't react to multilingualism as a threat to his "real" self, but rather as an expansion of his personality through a kind of maturation by which his self becomes more complete or whole.
- H: These "internal states" have been omitted from the behaviorist's equations because they can't be observed, but they definitely cannot be ignored in the strategies of instruction devised by teachers. But we'd better move on now to point five. Innumerable relationships, attitudes, activities, institutions, etc., characteristic of the foreign culture were portrayed, overtly or covertly, through the drawings and the printed word.
- L: Even the "bomberos" are in here—the volunteer firemen with their fancy uniforms, social prestige, and guarantee of a magnificent funeral. Nearly every segment of Chilean society parades past the reader in the pages of *Condorito*.
- H: Point six: With his rare gift for caricature, the cartoonist accorded certain behavioral traits and environmental features a prominence which caused the reader to focus his attention on them, thereby gaining awareness of many aspects of the culture which otherwise might have remained unnoticed. I'm not exaggerating when I say that during four years in your country, with opportunities to observe firsthand practically every aspect of Chilean life, I often failed to notice many things until I saw them caricatured in *Condorito*. Then a light would dawn and I'd suddenly be aware of something I hadn't been able to isolate or hadn't understood.
- L: Would you believe I learn a lot about your culture through reading *Mary Worth*?
- H: I've got to mention *Topaze*. Without the cartoons and other features in that terrific weekly magazine of social and political satire, I believe most of the burning

problems agitating Chileans of every persuasion and condition would have passed me by.

- L: Without Herblock, Fischetti, and others, not to mention *Steve Roper*, *The Born Loser*, and even *Robin Malone*, many current questions and facets of your culture would escape me.
- H: You mean a distinguished novelist like you. . . .
- L: I think Europeans and Latin Americans have a different attitude toward cartoons than many Americans. To us they represent a valid form of art. Naturally, there is garbage, as is the case with any medium of expression. But I believe, for instance, that Hergé, the Creator of *Tin-Tin*, is a genius. And in Europe there are avid collectors of "vintage" cartoons who treasure collections of *Flash Gordon*, etc. as reflections of an era which may be understood in part by the psychological and sociological implications of the things depicted in the drawings and conveyed by the printed word.
- H: In your opinion, how do attitudes toward this format and its impact fit in with the ideas of Marshall McLuhan?
- L: Well, although I don't think the legacy of Gutenberg is at an end. . . .
- H: The printed word is certainly still alive and vigorous in your novels. In my opinion, your creativeness in imparting new vitality to the ink-imprinted page is unequalled. The imaginative use of color for printing lyric passages in *Novela de Navidad*, the juxtaposition of separate plots on opposite pages of *Invenção a dos voces*, the vivid, kinetic, superimposition of images in *Para subir al cielo*, for example, parallel, in my mind, striking effects achieved in the new media.
- L: ¡Chas gracias, pues. I wish more Americans were acquainted with my works. How would you like to translate *Invenção a dos voces*?
- H: ¡Encantado!
- L: The legacy of Gutenberg, I was saying. . . Young people of today grow up surrounded by the sounds and images of the new media. Yet what do we see in education—especially in language learning? Gutenberg seems to be the hottest thing going. We adapt stories,

novels, plays, essays: acknowledgements, a preface, a note or two, a glossary, and listo! More fodder for the presses. Why are we so slow to adapt theatrical motion pictures, TV programs, comic strips, animated cartoons?

H: Salt in my wounds! You know I've been working on this for years. Lack of resources . . . Lack of interest on the part of publishers . . . Lack of time . . .

L: ¡Pobre!

H: We'd better move on to point . . . ?

L: Seven, I believe. Sí, siete.

H: Although the basic intent of the cartoonist apparently was to entertain, rather than to edify or inform, nonetheless, most of the cartoons could be related directly or indirectly to some grave moral, psychological, social, economic, or political problem.

L: There are examples here ranging from alcoholism to crime, illiteracy, inflation, militarism, poverty, mental health, political corruption, feminism, juvenile delinquency, birth control, etc.

H: Eight: In general, the cartoons were related to contemporary life, although occasional references to the past provided insights into particular views of history.

L: I recall one humorous sequence on the Spanish conquest and its consequences that is revealing of popular attitudes.

H: Nine: Cartoons depicting North Americans, Argentines, Mexicans, etc. provided clues as to how other cultures might be popularly regarded.

L: Pepo's parody of the American West, which stars "Cúndor the Kid," is about the best he's done. But I like his take-offs on U.S. TV, tourists, and "gángsters," too.

H: Ten: While much more inoffensive in nature than many U.S. cartoons, some sequences presented a scatological type of humor that would be considered improper by many parents.

L: This aspect of your culture puzzles me. You allow young children to view mayhem and murder and flagrant sex without sufficient qualms to really go to work and do something about it and yet any allusion to perfectly natural, normal body functions that are news to no one are considered absolutely taboo.

H: There may be a degree of relaxation in one respect without any noticeable improvement in the other. Eleven: Insights into humor itself, an important part of culture, could be gained through analysis of *Condorito* and the reactions of readers.

L: Comment on that a little, will you? I'm interested in your observations as an outsider.

H: I was beginning to think of myself as an insider.

L: An inside-outsider. I hope you don't get everything *al revés*.

H: La 'talla' chilena. In a way, it reminds me of 'kidding' in our country, but it has its own unique pungency and picaresque thrust. Then there's the 'segunda intención' or 'doble sentido.' You have to be on your toes all the time with Chileans or you'll miss one half—the 'second' half—of every verbal exchange.

L: On second thought, you'll often find the 'intención' is a bit 'picante.' Remember the popular song about inflation, "¡Cómo baja el dinero!"? One of the lines goes "... porque suben los vestidos y no bajan los eslipés."

H: Would it be safe to leave the translation of that particular Anglicism to the imagination?

L: Hmmm.

H: Twelve: The cultural and linguistic content of *Condorito* was so extensive and varied that, with proper selection and editing, it appeared much valuable material could be abstracted for use in the classroom.

L: Since that initial appraisal of *Condorito*, you have examined thousands of cartoons in several languages, including English, to evaluate their suitability for teaching language and culture. You've also adapted numerous cartoons for classroom use, with vocabularies, notes, exercises, tape recordings, etc. How have these been received by teachers?

H: Quite well in general, for beginning and intermediate courses at all levels of instruction—in spite of serious criticisms which may be summarized as follows:

- 1) The language employed in the cartoons is too colloquial; some of the expressions used are not found in dictionaries and are not common to dialects spoken in other areas of America and Spain.

- 2) "Ungrammatical" forms appear in some of the cartoons.
- 3) Certain aspects of Hispanic life are misrepresented through exaggerated use of caricature.
- 4) Emphasis on the comical and unusual results in a distorted view of Hispanic culture.
- 5) Cartoons are too lacking in esthetic qualities to legitimize their use in the classroom.
- 6) The content of some cartoons is not suitable for young learners, in that unmannerly and improper behavior is portrayed.
- 7) Although cultural elements depicted often relate to broad segments of Hispanic society, they are sometimes too national or regional for general application.

- L: Some of these criticisms have already been considered in the course of our discussion; other objections could easily be overcome through more careful selection and editing. Also, materials could include cartoons from other areas of Latin America and Spain.
- H: It must be understood that the cartoons are not intended to comprise a complete course of instruction. As supplementary materials, they are designed to add variety, interest, insights, valuable practice in various skills, etc., and in no way are represented as being comprehensive in their treatment of either language or culture.
- L: The *Notas y ejercicios* which accompany *Condorito* attempt to put things in perspective, identifying the items that are strictly Chilean.
- H: With regard to the use of colloquial language and "ungrammatical" forms... Mind if I make an intemperate statement?
- L: Go ahead. Anything I don't like, I'll edit out.
- H: At a time when some institutions are eliminating requirements for language study, when enrollments are decreasing and drop-out rates are growing, members of the language teaching profession who are deeply concerned with problems of student interest and motivation recognize that perhaps the greatest demand of students is for relevance. When the language taught consists of a depurated "normalized" dialect (the "average" speech of several regions), a textbook writer's notion of "correct" speech, or a disconnected, artifi-

cial potpourri contrived for illustrating formal features of the language, the phony quality of it all is soon apparent to the student and it offends him that he is not invited or permitted to relate to real people in real situations who speak a real language and have real needs, hopes, and ideals.

L: Relevant!

- H: "Natural" language is characterized by all sorts of false starts, "ungrammatical" utterances, fumbings, falterings, and failures, yet the student is provided with materials that are meticulously composed, rehearsed, recorded, and re-recorded in order to produce "flawless" models for him to imitate. The only flaw in all this is that the student is expected to master a form of speech found only on such tapes and nowhere else on earth. Teachers themselves couldn't talk like that—and don't.

L: I don't know. There are teachers who speak First-Year Spanish.

- H: Like the retired first-grade teacher who after wrecking her car stood back to survey the damage and exclaimed, "Oh! Oh! Oh! See! See! See!"

L: While teachers should do what they can to assure that linguistic and cultural models presented are authentic, I think it's much more important for them to establish the limits of what is reasonable, possible, and desirable to expect of students.

- H: I once received an acrimonious communication from a district language supervisor because in a taped dramatization of high school students abroad, I allowed a young man to be himself. Result: a "schwa" that should have been an "a." It would have been no problem to record a "perfect" pronunciation, but how many students could identify with that? How many of them ever learn to speak like natives?

L: The emperor's clothes. We feel too vulnerable to permit ourselves to contemplate bare humanity. The beautiful fabric woven with threads of universal understanding and world brotherhood through perfect bilingualism (acquired in French II and Spanish 301) must not be revealed as an illusion and a farce by some uncooperative kid who tells it like it is.

H: A very good friend of mine speaks English with a pronounced Spanish accent. In many respects his command of English is extraordinary. When native speakers are groping for an appropriate word, he supplies it. Or when a native speaker has expressed something in a verbose, disorganized way, he will succinctly sum things up in a few apt words. However, he has never mastered phonemes /s/ and /z/ of English, among other things, and his speech sounds like a parody of Desi Arnaz.

L: You think that's easy?

H: Having specialized in the teaching of English to speakers of other languages for some eleven years, I'm confident that, given enough time, and with my friend's willing cooperation, I could measurably "perfect" his pronunciation. I feel no compulsion to remake him, however. I admire, respect, and esteem him very greatly just as he is.

L: I no espeak lak thees all time.

H: It was someone else I had in mind, esteemed friend.

L: Can the world be made safe for my kind of bilingualism?

H: No. Your kind is fine, but only something ideal and pure can give us an inner vision to pre-empt our eyes for an assault on reality, oblivious of cost and consequences.

L: Would you say, then, that we must free ourselves from the prison of our own propaganda, retrench, salvage where possible what has been invested in unrealistic goals, and go forward in a more modest, enlightened way?

H: Exactly. A student's pronunciation of a given allophone should be accepted when within parameters establishing functional control, whether "native" or not. Adult learners and others unable to perform well in this respect, and whose goal is not to pass themselves off as natives in order to spy for the C.I.A., must be given opportunities to find success and pride of achievement in other skills.

L: In short, the student's progress must no longer be held up to the point where he is tense, frustrated, discouraged and ready to drop out as he is subjected to endless, repetitive, dull, boring, tedious drills de-

signed with perfection in *formal* aspects of language as the goal.

H: Instructional formats must emphasize thematic aspects and be designed to engage students in *social, functional* use of the language, as they communicate with the teacher and each other and not with a machine (although they may be aided in this by audio-visual cues and prompts presented by a machine).

L: Primacy of the thematic over the formal must be established in every learning activity.

H: The formal is a servant, opening the door to the thematic, and it must henceforth be kept in a subservient role and never again be permitted to forget its place and become so presumptuous, overbearing, and boorish as at present.

L: The perennial servant problem. It's terrible everywhere.

H: The most extreme, most unfortunate collection of formally oriented materials I've ever encountered comprises the course of study in many of the Binational Centers sponsored by the U.S. Information Agency.

L: Like the one in Valparaiso, where we first met.

H: At that time it was my responsibility to oversee instruction in English based on texts and tapes which over a period of eight semesters (four years!) of intensive study devote very little time to sustained discourse of any kind. The study of language and culture logically go hand in hand, yet these materials, lacking thematic content, seldom relate the language in any way to the culture of which it is such an indivisible part.

L: It was against this background that you began to view the lowly comic strip, with its ungrammatical forms, its colloquial speech, its completely random, unsystematic presentation of linguistic and cultural patterns as a humble answer to the system, order, logic, purity, clarity, perfection, emptiness . . . of form without content.

H: The skeleton without the body.

L: No flesh.

H: No weaknesses of the flesh.

L: No heart. No blood. No life.

Let me thank you now for your interesting, unconventional remarks. Perhaps we could get together again to discuss such topics as the adaptation of theatrical motion pictures for language learning, a "student team" approach to FL instruction, and the use of interpersonal games in achieving social, functional control of language—all closely related to our present discussion.

H: An additional subject might be the teaching of aspects of foreign culture through the novel—or literature in general.

L: Let's explore it.

12

THE USE OF FOLKSONGS TO DEVELOP INSIGHT INTO LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE *

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Resourceful teachers have always used examples of Latin American music to enliven the study of Spanish, to break the deadening effect of pattern drills, to enrich the program with a little of the culture. The purpose of this paper is to show how the use of Latin American music, especially folksongs, affords a deep insight into the Latin American culture. Folksongs are a source of "culture capsules" that have not always been exploited.

Folksongs are the expressions of the people, the masses, the vast majority. Sometimes folksongs are the expressions of an individual—often unknown—revealing his interpretation of his human situation and finding resonance with the people at large. Such songs are popular; they belong to the people. They reflect their history, their heritage—in a word—their culture.

This paper touches on three points:

1. A brief note on the richness of Latin American folkmusic,
2. A sketch of how to use folksongs in the classroom to exploit the cultural import and impact,
3. A short study of three examples.

1. A Brief Note on the Richness of Latin American Folkmusic

In a striking way the folkmusic of Latin America reveals the three cultural forces that are the warp and woof of Latin America today. The forces are: the indigenous or primitive, the European including especially the Spanish and the African. The import and impact of these three factors varies from country to country and from region to region within the same country. From the indigenous culture short, repetitive, rhythmic patterns remain along with certain musical instruments, e.g., the *claves*, the *maracas*, the *guiro* among others. The European heritage includes a great va-

* From H. Ned Seelye, ed., *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1970, pp. 62-69.

riety of song-forms: the *bolero*, the *villancico*, the polka, etc., along with musical instruments such as the guitar, brass, the accordian, the violin, etc. The African force also left its mark with the dominant drum beat and complicated, syncopated rhythms along with the bongo. The adoption and adaption of these various musical elements provide examples of a very important principle for understanding and appreciating the Latin American culture. There was and is an organic assimilation of the elements; the resulting whole is somehow more than the sum of the parts. There is a dynamic incorporation. The Latin Americans added and add their own creative touch to the heritage handed to them. The *arpa jarocho*, the *guitarrón*, the bongo, the *mariachi* trumpet-duet are just a few cases in point.

In Latin America there is a tremendous variety of folk-song forms: the *yaravi*, the *corrido*, the *huapango*, the *tango*, the *habanera*, the *cha-cha-cha*, the *mambo*, the *rumba*, and the *calypso*, to mention a few. Some of these have become so refined that they are almost classical today. They express the many moods of the Latin people in a truly Latin way, distinctive of the people, indicative of their culture, and expressive of their views and values.

The verses of these folksongs offer a fairly simple introduction to Hispanic poetry. In fact the exploitation of their cultural insight presupposes some knowledge of Hispanic poetry as well as an appreciation of the love of Latin Americans for poetry and some understanding of their fondness and facility for improvisation. The poetry is rich in its resources, the techniques of poetic expression. Much of this is in the tradition of Spanish poetry; some is quite original, e.g., the creative contributions of Rubén Darío. The predilection of Latins for poetry needs no proof; love letters, serenades, poetry-competitions provide ready support. The many variants or versions as well as the many verses of some songs, e.g., *La cucaracha*, evince their fondness and facility for improvisation.

II. Suggestions for the use of folksongs in the classroom

The choice of folksongs, obviously, must vary according to the classroom situation: the ability of the teacher, the capacity of the students, the availability of music and background material. By background material I mean the "who, what, where, when, why and how" of the folksong. Native renditions or recordings are very helpful. More difficult or complicated songs can be self-defeating. Some songs may prove to be a little embarrassing. It is only sensible, as ev-

ery good teacher exemplifies, to start with songs that are easier and more commonly known or popular in the United States.

The actual procedure for teaching folksongs is fairly well known, if not obvious, but I shall repeat them here to underscore the cultural insights afforded by the song.

A. Learning the words

1. repetition-imitation of the model to insure proper pronunciation of first parts, then the whole until memorization and mastery. This may involve learning some allophones;
2. reading aloud; with advanced groups the first step may be skipped; repeated reading aloud with advancement to *sinafeta* and *sineresis* and with emphasis on the proper rhythm.

3. explaining the text

1. lexical items with an indication of provincialism which often necessitates a discussion of the cultural context of a word and its meaning, e.g. *chula* in Mexico.
2. structural analysis and explanation of how the words are used in a sentence which would include points of grammar and a study of the idiomatic expressions which are often "culture capsules" in themselves.
3. literary analysis or study of the poetic techniques.

B. Fixing the melody

Repetition of the melody to make the students acquainted with the melody and to help them memorize it. It often helps to take some songs line by line. The feeling, the mood, the tone of the song should be noted.

C. Singing the song

After the song is sung several times there should be a discussion of this song in comparison with others, both Latin American and English, that the students know. The background of the song may be discussed here, if it was not brought in as part of the introduction to the song.

III. Examples, Background of Three Latin American Folksongs

Up till now this discussion has been rather general, theoretical, up-in-the-air. Some examples should help to bring

it down to earth. I am going to discuss three examples: "Guantanamera" which is based on a Cuban folksong, the refrain or chorus of the Mexican *corrido*, "La cucaracha," and the Argentine tango, "Adios, muchachos". Again the cultural insights afforded by the three examples is the main issue.

A. "Guantanamera"

I have chosen this folksong because of its popularity here in the United States. The words and melody are simple and well known, but not the cultural background. The melody, as I understand it, was used to sing news items on rural broadcasts in Cuba. If this is the case, again one may note the love for verse along with the fondness and facility for improvisation.

The song is actually—or seems to be—"made in the U.S." The verses are almost haphazard selections from the *Versos sencillos*, a series of quatrains written by José Martí, the Cuban poet-patriot (1853-1895) who died fighting for the freedom of Cuba from Spain. The verses chosen are somewhat representative of the poet, but certainly do not exhaust the highly personal and very profound expression of his views and values found in many other quatrains in the *Versos sencillos*. Some Cuban friends of mine think that the song is a desecration. This fact only indicates the cultural gap that prompts a paper like this. But taking the song as it is popular here in the United States affords some cultural insights.

Yo soy un hombre sincero
dedonde crece la palma;
y antes morirme quiero
echar mis versos del alma.

Mi verso es de un verde claro
y de un carmen encendido;
mi verso es un ciervo herido
que busca en el monte amparo.

Con los pobres de la tierra
quiero mi suerte echar;
el arroyo de la sierra
me complace mas que el mar.

The lexical items and linguistic structures of these quatrains are fairly simple and quite common. Attention may be called to several: the use of *dedonde*, the reflexive as an intensifier in *morirme*, the nominalization involved in *de un verde claro*, the past participle *herido* in comparison with

the adjective *encendido*, the two uses of the -do form, the word order, the comparison in the last line, the figures of speech.

The verses clearly state the poet's need to express himself in poetry and his wish to identify with the majority of his fellow countrymen. There is a certain fatalistic awareness of death. The tone and overall effect of the verses are plaintive, pensive, profound in spite of the apparent simplicity.

The refrain or *estribillo* (an important technique of Hispanic poetry) is not Martí's creation. It is simple, two words really, that are repeated several times:

Guantanamera, guajira guantanamera,
guantanamera, guajira guantanamera.

Guantanamera means "pertaining to Guantanamo" where the United States still has a military base in Cuba. Note the suffix *-era* which is used with nouns and adjectives to indicate origin-from, relation-to or occupation, e.g. *habanera*, *aduanero*. *Guajira* is a Cuban word meaning "a Cuban folk song" among other things. Hence it would seem the refrain says: "This is a Cuban folk song." In many ways it is.

B. La cucaracha

The almost endless verses and versions of this Mexican *corrido* is another example of improvisation. Some versions glorify Pancho Villa, the revolutionary bandit-hero whose real name was Doroteo Arango (1877-1923). In general the verses are usually satirical comments on politics and love. They are a mixture of humor and pathos. The song is basically a sad one—according to all the Mexican renditions and interpretations that I have heard.

One version of this *corrido* provided the title and storyline of a Mexican film starring Maria Felix, Dolores del Rio, etc. The song and movie are about a campfollower. While *la cucaracha* literally means "cockroach," it seems to have been an euphemism for such a woman. Only then does the *estribillo* really make sense:

La cucaracha, la cucaracha,
ya no puede caminar,
porque no tiene, porque le falta
marijuana que fumar.

This interpretation may be rather embarrassing to many teachers who have used this song in the classroom. Even so, the song does express the temper of the times around 1910 in Mexico; it reveals the chaos and anarchy that

swept through Mexico during that time, shaking, upsetting, destroying social structures to their foundations, namely the family unit. And whether the word *cucaracha* means "campfollower" or not, one is still faced with the use of marijuana that is implied in the song.

In just these few lines—I will not even attempt to comment on the verses because of their number and variations—there are several points worth pondering. While the refrain is made up of alternating ten-syllable and seven-syllable lines, the verses are quatrains of *romance*, i.e., eight-syllable lines, traditional in Hispanic ballads. In the refrain the idiomatic expression *le falta* occurs. These few lines also presuppose a grasp of the subtle difference of the idioms: *tener que fumar marijuana* and *tener marijuana que fumar*.

This folksong, even though I have discussed only the refrain, does provide insight into some aspects of Mexican culture, their heritage and history. It reveals Mexico, the land of contrasts; it uncovers the Mexicans, the people of contrasts.

C. *Adios, muchachos*

This last example is a *tango* from Argentina. It is the "swan-song" of a gaucho who must retire due to ill-health.

Adios, muchachos, companeros de mi vida,
barra querida
de aquellos tiempos.

Me toca a mi emprender la retirada;
debo alejarme de mi buena muchachada.

Adios, muchachos, ya me voy y me resigno;
contra el destino
nadie la talla.

Se terminaron para mi todas las farras;
mi cuerpo enfermo no resiste más.

This *tango* offers a glimpse of *gaucho*-life, especially the close bonds of friendship, the *amiguismo*. The word *barra* means "bar, yoke;" figuratively it implies "team." The words *mi buena muchacha-da* ("that old gang of mine") reinforces this same concept; as does the word *farras* referring to their escapades together.

Several linguistic structures are noteworthy: the idiomatic expression *me toca*, the use of the reflexive to intensify *voy* and *terminaron*, the reflexive as complement of *resigno* and *alejar*, the use of *tallar*.

Like *Guantanamera* and *La cucaracha* this *tango* has an air of sadness. Yet the tone of the folksong is quite different from the other two examples. The melody is somewhat more complicated. There is no *estribillo*. There is a clear-cut note of fatalism: "contra el destino nadie la talla." There is a fatalistic acceptance of the illness that has altered the gaucho's life. There is an expression of *gauchismo*, an aspect of Argentine culture.

CONCLUSION

The examples and especially the interpretation of these examples that I have ventured here are debatable. But they are only examples. The point at issue, the point I have tried to make, remains: Latin American music, especially the folksongs, affords not merely a change of pace or a bit of culture. They afford a deep insight into the heritage and history of the Latin American peoples. They express and reveal the culture of Latin America.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR DEVELOPING MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD NATIVE SPEAKERS OF SPANISH *

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Life in the 1970's is so globally interdependent that international understanding is imperative. In addition to teaching the language skills, the foreign-language teacher has a valid contribution to make in developing more positive attitudes toward those who speak the language.

The task is not so easy as may first appear, since prejudice for some people is a part of their personality structure; and they will resist suggestions to change by clinging more stubbornly to their prejudiced beliefs. There is some evidence to indicate that Spanish speakers are not as highly regarded in America as German or French speakers.¹ A study by Dr. Howard Lee Nostrand suggests that Americans who live in France frequently react negatively to the French.² Possibly this is because they lack knowledge of the French way of life and insights into the Frenchman's attitudes and value system.

In the following pages will be found suggestions for developing more positive attitudes toward native speakers of Spanish. About half of the ideas were tried for one semester in the author's Spanish classes. Unfortunately they produced no attitude change. However, it is hoped that a continuous year-long program will effect the desired change. Many of the activities can be incorporated into the daily lesson plan. We believe that including attitude activities at least once a week will be more effective than doing an occasional big unit.

We favor an anthropological approach to the teaching of culture. Not all anthropologists agree on a definition of culture. Ours is a rather simple one: culture is everything which is learned. Therefore we try to discover what the Spanish speaker has learned. For example, whom has he

* From H. Ned Seelye, ed., *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture*, Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1970, pp. 118-139.

learned to consider his family, whom has he learned to respect, when has he learned to eat his meals, how has he learned to organize his society, what has he learned to consider esthetically pleasing, what has he learned to consider humorous, what has he learned to value?

Our desire is to build the kind of positive attitudes which will stand up under the reality of living or working with Spanish-speaking people. We have a great deal in common with Spanish speakers as fellow human beings. Nevertheless we want to make our students aware of the fact that Latin Americans will frequently think and act differently from us simply because they *were* reared in Latin America and not in the United States.

In teaching the language skills, we have learned that the similarities between two languages are easily learned; but the differences or points of contrast are more difficult to master, and we must therefore spend more time on them. So, too, in the teaching of culture. Customs, social organizations, and values which are similar to ours are easily accepted by our students; we must spend more time on those which are different, for they are the ones which may cause our students to react negatively to Spanish speakers.

There are two techniques for building positive attitudes which teachers have been using for years; writing to pen pals and inviting Spanish-speaking visitors to the classroom. We feel these are worthwhile activities and urge you to try them both.

Part I comprises two-thirds of the article and is devoted mainly to activities related to information about Latin America. We know that "Latin Americans" object to this phrase, and we apologize for using it. The people of each country south of the border believe that they are different from—and superior to—their neighbors. In the future one hopes that the information suggested here can be developed for each of the Spanish-speaking republics of America and also for Spain. Since our students are more likely to interact with Spanish speakers of this hemisphere, we have concentrated on Hispanic America.

Part II concerns information about attitudes themselves.

Part I

Discussion of Similarities and Differences

Because people so frequently react negatively to differences, we suggest starting the year with a discussion of

similarities and differences. Make the students aware that the concept of differences exists not only among other cultures but even within their own school and families. Convey the idea that "difference" is a neutral concept, not one of "good vs. bad" or "superior vs. inferior." Show that the willingness to accept differences is necessary, not only for international understanding but also for our own society.

You might begin by talking about the ways in which your school is similar to other junior—or senior—high schools and how that particular class is similar to other classes in the school. On succeeding days consider these questions: How is your school different from other schools? How is that class different from other classes in the building? Ask the students, "How is your family like other families? How is your family unique?" (This latter is a question that Margaret Mead has used in beginning anthropology classes.)³ What differences might we be unwilling to accept in our class? Why wouldn't we accept these differences?

The Family of Man

The collection of photographs entitled *The Family of Man*⁴ can be used to relate similarities and differences in a new way. Approximately fifteen minutes of time on two successive days can be spent in looking at the photographs. Secure enough copies of the book so that the students can sit in groups of three or four. On the first day have them think about the two following questions: What was the editor's purpose in assembling this collection of pictures, and how were the pictures organized? On the following day let the students look at the pictures again for a few minutes, and then attempt to answer the questions. Some groups may feel that the editor wanted to show how similar mankind is all over the world, while others will decide that he wanted to show how different man is.

1 Madeline A. Cooke, "A Study of the Development of Positive Attitudes Toward Native Speakers of Spanish," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, College of Education, The Ohio State University, 1969), p. 14.

2 Howard Lee Nostrand, *Experiment in Determining Cultural Content: Pretesting the Questionnaire, "How Americans See the French,"* (Department of Romance Languages and Literature, University of Washington, July, 1964), p. 16. (Mimeographed.)

3 Margaret Mead, "Culture in Foreign Language Teaching: the Anthropologist's Point of View," *Report on a Conference on the Meaning and Role of Culture in Foreign Language Teaching, Institute of Language and Linguistics, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (Georgetown: March 10 and 11, 1961), p. 9.*

4 Edward Steichen (ed.), *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955).

With some guidance from the teacher, their conflicting viewpoints can be reconciled in the following way: all men share certain universals such as family life, work, emotions, etc., but how they express these differs from one culture to another.

The concept that the universals are expressed differently in different cultures is one which we believe may help build more positive attitudes toward people who appear different from us. For years well-meaning teachers have taught that people are alike all over the world and imply that there is therefore no reason why we cannot all get along with one another. Yet people who must live or work with those from another culture sometimes become so acutely aware of differences that they doubt whether mankind can ever work together. We believe that the concept exemplified in *The Family of Man* is a valid reconciliation of these two conflicting viewpoints and that it can serve as a springboard from which to investigate some of the different ways in which the universals are expressed.

Values

It is our personal belief that much of the conflict which arises when people from different cultures try to work together results from a difference in values. Try, therefore, to make your students aware of the concept of values and of the role which values can play in determining behavior.

Spend a whole class period discussing values. Start by suggesting that everyone has certain things or ideals which he values and that these values are arranged in a hierarchical order. Also comment that one's behavior is frequently influenced by what he values. As examples of a value you might point out that some students in your school value clothes, some value money, and others value friends. Ask them to suggest things which they think are valued by students at their school. Then ask them to name values which they believe are held by their parents or other adults. Write all these on the board. Then ask each student to write down a list of his own top ten values in order of their importance to him. The most obvious finding will probably be that each person's hierarchy of values is unique. A tabulation of the top three in each list may reveal some grouping, which you can report to the class the following day.

Once the students have become aware of the concept of values and have considered some American values, the next step is to examine the values held by Spanish speakers. John Gillin discusses Latin American values in a paper

which can be found in *Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America*.⁵ He cites the following values: individuality, *dignidad*, *machismo*, *personalismo*, acceptance of social inequality, and the idealistic or transcendental world view (the Latin American tends to place greater value on spiritual rather than on pragmatic concerns).

The state of North Carolina has published a guide for high school French and Spanish teachers called *Teaching for Cross-Cultural Understanding*.⁶ It contains a section on Hispanic values which follows closely the themes presented by Nostrand in an article appearing in *Hispania* in 1961.⁷ In addition to the values which Gillin discusses, Nostrand also mentions regionalism, *serenidad*, beauty, leisure and work, human nature mistrusted, *cultura* vs. *realidad*, and rising expectations.

We recommend that the classroom teacher prepare a synthesis of the discussions of both these authors, duplicating enough copies so that each student can have one. Spend a portion of class time reading them over together and discussing them. If this is done early in the school year, there will be many opportunities to relate the Latin American value system to other class activities.

Reading List of Books Set in an Hispanic Culture

You may want the class to read some materials which translate values from an abstraction into a potent force which directs men's actions. Following is an annotated list of books for high school students which are set in an Hispanic culture. In sharing their reactions to these books with their classmates, it is recommended that students note differences between their own value system and that of the hero of the book, problems which are different from those which American teen-agers have to solve, or solutions which are different from North American ones. Since individuals' perceptions vary, this assignment may be more fruitful if several people read the same book and share their reactions to it.

5 John Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," *Contemporary Culture and Societies of Latin America*, ed. Dwight B. Heath and Richard N. Adams (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 503-517.

6 Iora Tuve Ladu, *Teaching for Cross Cultural Understanding*, (Foreign Language Curriculum Series Publication No. 414; Raleigh, North Carolina: State Department of Public Instruction, 1968).

7 Howard Lee Nostrand, "Literature, Area Study, and Hispanic Culture," *Hispania*, XLIV (September, 1961), pp. 465-472.

Alegría, Ciro. *Broad and Alien Is the World*. Translated by Harriet de Onis. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941. About Indian serfs on a Peruvian hacienda.

Brown, Vinson. *Black Treasure*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951. Dween sets out to seek hidden treasure in the Panamanian jungle but settles down to farm. Adventure and love.

Colman, Hila. *The Girl from Puerto Rico*. New York: Morrow, 1961. A middle-class Puerto Rican girl suddenly finds herself living in a slum in New York City. Well written.

Clark, Ann Nolan. *Santiago*. New York: Viking Press, 1955. A young Indian boy in Guatemala is raised as a middle-class *ladino*. Later he is taken back to his grandfather's Indian Village. As a teen-ager he leaves the village and makes his way along in the world.

Daly, Maureen. *Twelve Around the World*. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1957. Each chapter describes a teen-ager in a different country. One chapter is about Luis Hernandez of Malaga, Spain. He is dissatisfied.

Elliot, Elisabeth. *No Graven Image*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966. Written by the widow of a missionary killed by Quichau Indians. Not a religious book. Shows conflict of culture values in a non-Christian society. Highly recommended.

Hobart, Alice Tisdale. *The Peacock Shed His Tail*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1945. A Mexican girl of the upper class married an American working in Mexico. Older girls.

Laszlo, A. *My Uncle Jacinto*. Translated by Isabel Quigly. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1958. One day in Madrid. An old ex-bullfighter and his seven-year-old nephew. Wit and gentle humor. Not sentimental but touches the heart.

Laverty, Maura. *No More than Human*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1944. A young Irish girl goes to Spain as a governess. After a tempestuous love affair there, she returns to Ireland and a beau.

López y Fuentes, Gregorio. *The Indian*. Translated by Anita Brenner. New York: Fredrick Ungar Publishing Co., 1961. About the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

Mayerson, Charlotte L. (ed.) *Two Blocks Apart*. Juan Gonzales and Peter Quinn. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and

Winston, 1965. Based on actual conversations with a Puerto Rican boy who has migrated to New York City and a boy of Irish extraction who lives just two blocks away.

McClarren, J. K. *Mexican Assignment*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1957. About young veterinarians who go to Mexico to help stamp out *aftosa*.

Means, Florence C. *Alicia*. New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1953. A Mexican American of Denver is looked down on at home but learns to appreciate her heritage during her junior year at the Universidad Nacional in Mexico.

Niggli, Josephine. *Mexican Village*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Ten short stories about everyday life in a Mexican village near Monterrey.

_____. *Step Down Elder Brother*. New York: Rinehart and Co., 1948. About the problems of a Mexican family.

Rivera, José Eustacio. *The Vortex*. Translated by Earle K. James. New York: Putnam, 1935. About rubber gatherers in the Colombian jungle.

Steinbeck, John. *The Pearl*. New York: Viking Press, 1957. About a poor fisherman who finds a valuable pearl.

Treviño, Elizabeth Bolton. *My Heart Lies South*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1953. An American marries a Mexican and tells about how she became adjusted to the Mexican way of life.

_____. *Where the Heart Is*. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962. Written by the same author about twelve years later when her boys are teen-agers. Describes their middle-class life in Mexico City.

Whitney, Phyllis A. *A Long Time Coming*. New York: David McKay Co., 1954. About a self-centered eighteen-year-old mid-western girl who comes into contact with the migrants who work in her father's cannery. Prejudice and discrimination, juvenile delinquency, role of churches re social issues, hostility between various social groups, plight of migratory workers, and personality problems plus romance make an intriguing plot.

Wiley, Karla. *Assignment: Latin America: A Story of the Peace Corps*. New York: David McKay Co., 1968. The country is not named, but the girl works with women weavers.

Young, Bob and Jan. *Across the Tracks*. New York: Julian Messner, 1958. Betty Ochoa, a third-generation Mexican-American, is surprised to find that she is prejudiced against her own cultural group.

Impressions of the United States

*Impressions of the United States*⁸ is a collection of letters based on observations written by foreign students studying at American universities. They permit us to see ourselves as others see us. Altogether there are nine letters by Latin American students. The letters can be read out loud to the class in five to ten minutes. The book itself suggests discussion questions for each letter, and the thoughtful teacher can prepare additional ones.

Por Esas Españas

A Spanish reader designed to show insight into certain Hispanic customs and attitudes is *Por Esas Españas* by Pedro Fernández.⁹ It is suitable for high-school classes in the third year or late second year. The teacher who is in a position to select a new reader is advised to consider this one. Six of the stories are especially recommended.

"El estudio del elefante" is a delightful example of stereotyping and a pleasant starting point for a look at other ways of thinking. "Idilio chileno" is about Chilean dating customs. "La política del buen vecino" is a cleverly written account of the first negative impressions of a North American and a Latin American couple as they look at each other across a restaurant. "Mr. Yoni" describes how a bustling young North American engineer in Guatemala discovers the necessity for the workmen's leisurely pace. "Toda una señora" is a vignette about an elderly Spanish widow living in genteel poverty which reflects class consciousness and *la dignidad de la persona*. "Un raro" reveals that a foreigner who believes himself completely accepted in the host country is still considered an outsider.

Social Class

Latin Americans are much more aware of social class than are many Americans. When describing life in a Spanish-speaking country, it is important to specify the social class to which the description applies. Therefore it is recommended that the teacher spend some time developing the concept of class. There are perhaps two reasons why many American students are relatively unaware of social class. Because so many of them belong to the middle class and because the middle class is the largest in the United

States and the one whose values predominate, these students assume—and with some justification—that most Americans live much as they do. Furthermore, the American ideal value which stresses the equality of all persons under the law and before God also tends to make them reluctant to acknowledge social class distinctions.

Social Class in the United States

Sociologists have discovered that social classes do exist in the United States. In order to move from the known to the unknown, it would therefore seem advisable to spend some time developing an awareness of social class in the United States before discussing the class concept in Latin America.

The teacher might want to begin with description of the six social classes defined by Warner: upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower.¹⁰ For his own background the teacher may want to examine a study by Centers published in 1961.¹¹ Centers develops the idea that social classes are interest groups which share certain attitudes. Cleanliness, neatness, and thriftiness, for example, are American middle-class values which are not necessarily shared by members of the lower class.

Reissman's study is the most comprehensive of the three suggested here.¹² In discussing industrialization, Reissman says that industrialization opens up the ranks of the middle class, who lead a fight on two fronts: one against encroachment by other more powerful nations that threaten them.¹³ This latter idea might be useful in explaining the nationalism which is evident in many Latin American countries today.

The teacher can find simple definitions and examples of status and role in Goldschmidt's *Exploring the Ways of*

⁸ Sophie Smith Hollander (ed.), *Impressions of the United States*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1964).

⁹ Pedro Villa Fernandez, *Por esas Españas* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963).

¹⁰ Lloyd Warner, *Social Class in America*, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), pp. 11-15.

¹¹ Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes: a Study of Class Consciousness*, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961).

¹² Leonard Reissman, *Class in American Society*, (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959).

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 390-393.

Mankind.¹⁴ Status usually refers to one's position on a vertical scale. Ascribed status is determined by birth; achieved status is one which a person reaches through his own abilities, interests, and ambitions. Status symbols, such as the gold bracelet or expensive watch in Latin America, give public expression to status. Let the students discuss American, middle-class and even teen-age status symbols. Every status carries with it an appropriate mode of behavior. A role is not the behavior itself but the rules and expectations of how one should behave. Some examples of social position for which our American society has determined appropriate behavior are lover-sweetheart, employer-employee, doctor-patient, and teacher-student. Goldschmidt points out that a similar status in two different cultures may require quite dissimilar roles. The class might discuss what behaviors are appropriate to the roles of teacher-student in America and then, when they have a Spanish-speaking visitor, try to determine in what ways these roles are similar or different in the visitor's country. The same thing could be done with the parent-child roles. Another way of comparing dating customs, always of interest to high school students, would be to compare the lover-sweetheart roles across cultures.

Social Class in Latin America

The Latin American Tradition by Charles Wagley¹⁵ is recommended reading for the Spanish teacher interested in understanding Latin American culture. The author is an anthropologist with much field experience in Latin America. This book is a collection of some of his essays which had appeared previously in a variety of journals. Social class is discussed in the section of Chapter II called "Social Class, not Race" (pages 50-55). In it Wagley points out that the North American is accustomed to base social distinctions on race, while the Latin American bases them on social class. Two other entire chapters are devoted to the concept of social class: Chapter I, "The Concept of Social Race in the Americans," and Chapter VII, "The Dilemma of the Latin American Middle Class." Wagley notes that middle-class Latin Americans tend to identify not with the middle class but with the aristocracy. He gives four characteristics of the middle class in Latin America: its members have white-collar occupations, but not the most lucrative or prestigious ones; it is an overwhelmingly urban class; its members are literate; and it is a traditionalistic and nationalistic class.¹⁶

Erasmus in *Man Takes Control* has an extensive description of the middle class in Navajoa and the surrounding area in the state of Sonora in Northwestern Mexico.¹⁷ He determined a person's social class according to the club to which he belonged. He makes frequent reference to how people in the different classes live, commenting, for example, on newcomers to the middle class who purchase refrigerators, tile their floors, and install indoor plumbing. (An unrelated but interesting section of this book is devoted to the folk beliefs pertaining to health practices of the lower classes of Quito, Ecuador.)¹⁸

A teacher of fourth-year classes might want to have his students read all or parts of Lewald's *Buenos Aires*.¹⁹ This book attempts to give a picture of contemporary porteña society by bringing together descriptions written by many Argentinian authors. The selections are generally brief, frequently excerpts from a longer work. Four chapters relate directly to social classes: Chapters VIII to XI, entitled "La clase alta," "La clase media," "La clase obrera," and "La lucha de clases." Altogether a score of aspects of porteña life are sketched.

Poverty

We believe that many middle-class Americans have negative attitudes toward the poor. Because most Latin Americans are poor, it may therefore be necessary to alter student attitudes toward the poor before one can expect to develop more positive attitudes toward Spanish speakers. The school librarian can suggest paperbacks and other sources for readings in this area.

Culture Areas of Latin America

In order to understand Latin America today the student should be aware of the three large culture areas which are found there: Indo-America, Afro-America, and Ibero America. Wagley first mentions these briefly on pages 14 and 15 and later describes them more fully on pages 30 to

14. Walter Goldschmidt, *Exploring the Ways of Mankind*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), pp. 316-321.

15. Charles Wagley, *The Latin American Tradition*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 199.

17. Charles J. Erasmus, *Man Takes Control*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), pp. 194-208.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-53; 336-338.

19. H. Ernest Lewald, *Buenos Aires* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968).

37. Indo-America includes Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and northern Chile. Wagley includes Argentina, Uruguay, most of Chile, southern Brazil, and Paraguay in Ibero-America. The Afro-American region is found in the lowland tropical areas surrounding the Caribbean and includes the West Indies, the Guianas, a large portion of Brazil, and the lowland portions of Venezuela and Colombia.

The teacher will want to read John Gillin's study of "Mestizo America."²⁰ This is his term for what Wagley calls Indo-America. His paper is much more comprehensive than Wagley's. In addition to a fairly detailed description of Indo-American culture, he also discusses, though less fully, the natural resources of the area, land and agricultural problems, mining and industry, standards of living, and political, religious, and educational features.

H. Ernest Lewald, a Spanish professor at the University of Tennessee, classifies Latin American culture in the following way:²¹

Demographic Regions

Rural

Urban

Geographic Areas

River Plate

Andean

Brazil

Mexico

Caribe and Central America

Tropical

Social Classes

Upper

Middle

Lower

Ethnic Groups

Criollo

Indian

African

When discussing a custom or value, the teacher should point out in which culture area and social class it is found.

Historical Backgrounds

The teacher who prefers an historical orientation should become acquainted with a product of the World History project at Northwestern University. It is called *Latin Ameri-*

ca and was prepared by a team of university and high school teachers under the direction of Professors Stavrianos and Blanksten.²² This 75-page soft-cover booklet is supplemented by a volume of *Readings in World History*. The materials are organized on the flashback technique. The three main sections of the booklet are "Politics," "Economics," and "Culture." Each begins with an analysis of existing conditions and institutions and then flashes back in time in order to make clear how these conditions and institutions gradually evolved through the ages.

The Family

The family usually plays a stronger role in the life of a Latin American than it does in the life of an American. When the Latin American thinks of his family, he usually includes people whom the American would refer to as "relatives," i.e., grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. Latin American families frequently share the same home, buy several apartments in the same apartment house, or buy homes on the same street. Latin American families usually have daily contact, and help one another both financially and psychologically in times of crisis.

The American Family

As in the study of values and social class, it is suggested that the American family be examined first before looking at the Latin American family. The teacher might find useful the discussion presented in chapter three of O. Z. White's little book *Changing Society*.²³

In the next two paragraphs are some sample questions which a teacher might prepare in order to focus on various aspects of American family life. You can think of many more. Divide the class into groups of not more than seven, allow about ten minutes for each group to discuss the question, then allow five minutes at the end of class for them to share their ideas. These discussions will probably not follow identical paths in each group.

²⁰ John Gillin, "Mestizo America," *Most of the World: the Peoples of Africa, Latin America, and the East Today*, ed. Ralph Linton, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 156-211.

²¹ Part of an eleven-page mimeographed "Inventory of Culture Themes" available directly from Professor Lewald.

²² Leften S. Stavrianos and George I. Blanksten, *Latin America: a Culture Area in Perspective*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1965).

²³ O. Z. White, *Changing Society*, (Philadelphia: The Geneva Press, 1968), pp. 54-72.

Family roles. What is the role of the father? The mother? Has the mother's role changed in the last fifty to one hundred years? What is the role of children in today's family? Has the role changed since the family left the farm? Do you think your role as mother or father will be different from that of your parents?

Siblings. Do you feel responsible for the actions of your siblings? Or they toward you? (Lower-class Mexicans are raised to feel responsible for one another, especially the older ones toward the younger ones.)²⁴ When you were little, did you play mostly with your siblings? Were you encouraged to play with the neighbor's children or schoolmates? (Mexican Americans are not.)²⁵ What social activities do you attend with your siblings? (In some Latin American countries, even middle- and upper-class girls are accompanied to a dance or party by an older brother or cousin. On a date she may be accompanied by a younger brother.)

The Latin American Family

Wagley in *The Latin American Tradition* has a description of the Latin American family on pages 55 to 58. On pages 58 to 60 he discusses the *compadrazgo*, a form of ceremonial kinship which plays an important role in Latin American society. On pages 69 to 75 he sets forth the roles of male and female.

After their discussions about the American family, the class can decide which aspects of Latin American life they would most like to learn about and formulate suitable questions to send in a letter to pen pals.

Before having a Spanish-speaking visitor, they can also decide which questions about the family they would like to ask.

The students may keep a diary in Spanish for one week. This can be sent to their pen pal in order to give him an idea of American family and daily life. The student will request that his pen pal do something similar. When replies have been received, the class may want to compare them to see what patterns are common to all of the Latin American countries represented. They might try to relate the differences to social, economic, age, rural-urban, or geographic factors.

The Silent Language

One can be aware of the Latin American's value system, understand the role that social class plays in his life, be

familiar with his family ties and daily life, and still be puzzled, hurt, or even angered because of certain behaviors. The thesis of Hall's book, *The Silent Language*, is that words are not the only means of communication.²⁶ In our own culture we are aware that tone of voice and body posture can also convey meaning. We are perhaps unaware that our use of time and space also conveys meaning. Of interest to Spanish teachers is the fact that some of the things which we communicate silently to members of our own culture are understood differently by Latin Americans and vice versa.

In the United States, if two friends have an appointment and one is five minutes late, he hardly feels it necessary to mumble an apology. On the other hand, if he does not appear in forty-five minutes, his friend will feel highly insulted and will probably leave without waiting further. The tardy friend will certainly owe an apology. In Latin America, a forty-five minute wait corresponds to our five minute waiting period. No one feels hurt, and no apology is necessary. On pages 17 to 19 of *The Silent Language*, Hall describes how a United States official stormed angrily out of the office of a Latin American dignitary after waiting forty-five minutes for his appointment. He felt that both he and his office had been insulted. On pages 136 and 137 Hall discusses the time concept again.

The usual speaking distance in the United States for normal, impersonal conversation, either between friends or business associates, is four to five feet. For the Latin American it is one to two feet. We stand this close to a person, however, only when we are very angry and are shouting at him menacingly or are interested in the person romantically. When the Latin American moves in to a distance of one to two feet, we are therefore uncomfortable and take a step backward to establish the distance at which we feel comfortable. He is puzzled by our retreat, wonders what he has done to offend us, and steps forward again to reestablish the distance at which he feels comfortable. "I have observed an American backing up the entire

²⁴ Theodore William Parson, Jr., "Cleavage in a California School" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, School of Education, Stanford University, 1965), pp. 123-143. This study of a small farming community of central California presents many culture patterns of the Mexicans who constitute 50% of the population and shows how these culture traits are a basis for Anglo discrimination. It is especially recommended for teachers interested in developing more positive attitudes toward Spanish-speaking groups living in the United States.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language*, (A Premier Book, No. d117; Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1963), pp. 81-83.

length of a long corridor while a foreigner whom he considers pushy tries to catch up with him."²⁷

Here are further Latin American references from *The Silent Language*. Latin American businessmen keep simultaneous appointments. The North American businessman may therefore discover that he must share his appointment with someone else. (Pages 19, 20.) At first the tourist finds that things in the foreign country look similar. If he stays long enough, he later begins to feel the differences. (Pages 43, 44.) Latin Americans attach a stigma to manual labor. (Pages 48, 49.) Latin American men cannot resist women. (Pages 49, 50.) Catholicism is a formal part of Latin American culture. (Page 75.) The Spaniards overcame the Aztecs rather easily during the conquest because they fought to kill, whereas the Aztecs fought to take prisoners. (Pages 79, 80.) The same sets may be valued differently. (Page 101.) Americans react to a bullfight differently from Latin Americans. (Page 113.) As in France, street names may change after an intersection. (Page 153.) Americans expect more of a neighbor than do the Latin Americans. (Page 156.) Standing in line violates the Latin American's sense of individuality. (Page 158.)

Examining Other Cultures

If the teacher suspects that the students are unconsciously learning that Spanish speakers are the only ones who do things differently from Americans, he may want to bring in illustrations from other cultures. *Tradition and Change in Four Societies* is a book of readings for high school students.²⁸ The four cultures are South Africa, Brazil, India, and China. There is a chapter on Chinese values and another on Indian village family life. Lowerclass urban life can be compared in descriptions of slums in Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro.

Part II

There is some evidence to indicate that prejudice may be part of the individual's personality structure and that the person who is prejudiced against one ethnic group is likely to be prejudiced against others.²⁹ We believe that a discussion of prejudice, stereotype, ethnocentrism, and even some information on personality formation may result in attitude change on the part of some students. The remainder of this article, therefore, will be devoted to references and suggestions for doing these things.

Prejudice

Because middle-class Americans value tolerance, students are likely to be on the defensive if the teacher announces that they are going to discuss prejudice.

The students will want to discuss prejudice themselves after seeing the film "The High Wall." It is a twenty-five minute black-and-white film which begins with the wailing of sirens. Two high school seniors are brought in to the emergency room of a hospital after attacking each other in a gang fight. One of the boys is of Polish extraction. The picture shows how the other boy had learned to hate the Poles from his parents. It is obvious that the film is about prejudice. It is also rather hard on parents, as they are represented in this film as being the sole cause for the prejudice.

Once the students get into discussion groups, they without your help will make the obvious transfer to prejudice against other ethnic groups.

If you have time for fifteen or twenty minutes of discussion but things seem to bog down after five minutes, try this: have two new members come into each group to replace two members who are assigned to other groups. Instruct the newcomers to inform their new groupmates of the ideas which they had discussed in their first groups. This introduction of "new blood" will usually stimulate further discussion.

Cultural Pluralism

Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are among several ethnic groups which have been reluctant to assimilate into American life. You might duplicate for the class the following description of cultural pluralism and let the students react to it.

A tremendous increase of interest in and activity on behalf of better relations between persons of different colors, creeds, and national origins has marked the past three decades in the United States. A major trend within the programs of both official and private voluntary agencies... is the acceptance of "cultural democracy" or "cultural pluralism," as contrasted with the formerly dominant "melting pot" approach to persons who are not

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

²⁸ Richard B. Ford, *Tradition and Change in Four Societies*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1968).

²⁹ Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954), p. 75.

included among the "WASPS (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants). Sometimes this approach is called, by analogy, "orchestration," or "tapestration." It implies that "unity with diversity" is the ideal of the democratic citizen of the United States, that just as violins or colorful threads make their contribution to a symphony or a tapestry, so the "strangers in a strange land" need not divest themselves of their cultural heritage.³⁰

Stereotype

Davis suggests

instead of admonishing against stereotyping, it might be more effective to present subjects with concrete examples of stereotyping . . . and then expose or explain this tendency, cautioning against stereotyping or prejudging.³¹

"El estudio del elefante" from the previously cited Spanish reader *Por esas Españas*, is a delightful way to introduce the concept of stereotypes. (Serious topics need not always be dealt with soberly.)

Let the students define *stereotype* and discuss what harm can come from stereotyping. The teacher may want to point out that stereotypes may be either favorable or unfavorable, based on truth, or entirely unjustified. Allport in his classic study *The Nature of Prejudice*, defines *stereotype* thus:

A stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category.³²

We believe that in order to overcome prejudice and the effects of negative stereotypes, one should stress the idea of learning to accept people as individuals.

Ethnocentrism

O. Z. White in *Changing Society* has a brief discussion of ethnocentrism on pages 35 to 39. The teacher may want to read to the class the lengthy description from Ralph Linton (reprinted in White) describing how much modern Americans owe to other cultures. The letter "Pilar attends school with the teenager," found in the previously-mentioned *Impressions of the United States* illustrates this concept.

Personality Theory

A study by Katz, Sarnoff, and McClintock showed that more attitude change toward Negroes occurred utilizing materials designed to give insight into the mechanisms and

motivations of an ego-defensive nature that could be the cause of prejudice.³³ The materials used are not included in the description of the study. You may find that two chapters in Allport's *Nature of Prejudice* might serve the purpose. These are Chapter XXV, "The Prejudiced Personality," and Chapter XXVII, "The Tolerant Personality." You can present the materials in lecture form and then allow time for the students to ask questions or to discuss the ideas among themselves in groups. If you are interested in calling attention to what happens to people who are the victims of prejudice, Chapter IX, "Traits Due to Victimization," can be used.

If your school teaches psychology, the textbook used may have chapters on personality theory and/or ego-defense mechanisms which you may prefer to use rather than the Allport chapters.

Culture Shock

Foster has a good chapter on culture shock which you may want to read to your classes.³⁴ Two chapters in a book entitled *Assignment: Overseas*³⁵ highlight some of the problems likely to befall Americans abroad and suggest that the key to getting along is developing cultural empathy. They are Chapter V, "Many Cultures and Our Own Witness," by Eugene A. Nida and Chapter IV, "Cultural Empathy," by Gerald Mangone. Mangone has been associated with the Maxwell Graduate School at Syracuse University, which has been studying the problem of educating and training Americans for overseas service. He is co-author of *The Overseas Americans*.³⁶ Teachers will find many ideas and illustrations which they may want to share with their classes in Chapters III, "Culture Shock," and X, "Cultural Empathy."

30 Clarence Senior, *The Puerto Ricans: Strangers then Neighbors*, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961), p. 62.

31 E. E. Davis, *Attitude Change: A Review and Bibliography of Selected Research*, (Paris: UNESCO, No. 19, 1964), p. 31.

32 Allport, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

33 Daniel Katz, Irving Sarnoff, and Charles McClintock, "Ego Defense and Attitude Change," *Approaches, Contexts, and Problems of Social Psychology: a book of Readings*, ed. Edward E. Sampson (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965), p. 282.

34 George M. Foster, *Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 187-194. This book has frequent illustrations from Latin America, especially of the lower classes, which the teacher may find useful.

35 John Rouenrant et al., *Assignment: Overseas*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960).

36 Harlan Cleveland, Gerald J. Mangone, and John C. Adams, *The Overseas American*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1960).

Role Playing

Several studies indicate that attitude change frequently occurs after someone has done role playing. This change does not occur, of course, if the person plays a role supporting his original position; but it may occur if he plays a role contrary to his own beliefs.

Here are some simple devices which you might try in order to encourage your students to act out things in front of the class. They might act out how two friends in Mexico greet each other using the handshake or *abrazo*. You could bring in paper plates, knife and fork, and some bread. Have the students pretend that the bread is a slice of meat and try to eat it holding their knife and fork Latin American (European) style. Students would probably enjoy acting out a conversation between a Latin American and a North American, with the North American retreating and the Latin American advancing to reestablish a comfortable speaking distance. Middle-class Argentinians think it strange that the American rejoinder to a compliment is always "thank you." They do not normally say "thank you" but instead make some pertinent comment. For example, if someone admires a dress, the wearer might say, "I just got it," or "I've been looking for a long time for something this color." Try having pairs of students compliment one another and making some rejoinder other than "thank you." This is not easy!

Another type of role playing is for the students to act out some situation. You might read them a story, stopping before the end. As a class, let them discuss possible endings. Then assign parts and let them act out different endings.

A third way to introduce role playing is to suggest a problem or a situation and let the students act it out. Let the participants have five minutes to coordinate their roles. For example, what would happen if a member of the class invited a Mexican to his home? Three possibilities suggest themselves. Have the students act out what would happen when the parents were told of the forthcoming visit, have them act out what happened when the Mexican was at the house, or have them act out what happened after the Mexican left.

Conclusion

A great many kinds of activities have been suggested, such as readings, lecture, group discussion, and role playing. Because individual students react differently to different classroom activities, we assume that techniques for

improving attitudes will not be equally effective with all students. For this reason we have recommended such a variety of approaches.

A factor which may affect attitude change in the classroom is the manner in which the teacher relates to the students. If a teacher does not show respect for his own students as individuals, he can hardly expect them to learn to respect Spanish speakers as individuals.

We suggest that discussions relating to attitudes should be fairly non-directive with as many of the ideas as possible coming from the students themselves. The easiest thing in the world is to "tell" the students how they should think or act. Teachers and preachers have been deluding themselves for years that this is the way to make people better. High school students, in fact, already know that they are supposed to think positively toward native speakers of Spanish.³⁷ We hope that the techniques suggested here will help them internalize these positive attitudes.

³⁷ Allport, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

ETHNOCENTRISM AND ACCULTURATION OF NORTH AMERICANS IN GUATEMALA *

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A. Introduction

According to Sumner's (17) classic definition, ethnocentrism may best be described as a syndrome involving at least three basic factors: (a) integration and loyalty among ingroup members, (b) hostile relations between ingroup and outgroup members, and (c) positive self-regard among ingroup members in contrast to derogatory stereotyping of outgroup characteristics. One important component of this syndrome is an acceptance of ingroup values and standards as universally applicable. Acculturation to a social group other than one's original ingroup, on the other hand, involves recognition of new value systems sometimes unfamiliar or contradictory to those of the original socialization group. Thus, extent of acculturation should be inversely related to ethnocentrism, or degree of commitment to a prior ingroup.

Campbell and LeVine (5) have provided a review of social science theories of intergroup relations for the purpose of deriving hypotheses regarding factors which should determine variation in ethnocentrism both within and between social groups (3, 4). On the individual level, variables related to ingroup loyalty, ethnocentric hostility, and perceptions of outgroup members include authoritarianism, rigidity of attitudes toward deviants from social norms, self-esteem, and extent or frequency of contact with outgroup members. By derivation, individuals high on variables posi-

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1. The data for this study were collected while the first author was studying in Guatemala, with the aid of research grants from the Colegio Americano de Guatemala and El Programa Interamericano de Información Popular (Costa Rica). The data analyses and preparation of this article were supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York awarded to Northwestern University for the Cooperative Cross-cultural Study of Ethnocentrism, under the directionship of Donald T. Campbell and Robert A. LeVine.

tively related to ethnocentrism should, when placed in another social group, be characterized by low acculturation to the new social group and by continued commitment to norms and customs of their original ingroup.

In most cross-cultural comparative research, acculturation has been studied in terms of the adaptation of members of small ethnic groups in developing countries to Western culture or the adjustment of foreign students in the United States (e.g., 2, 7). With the exception of a few value-change studies conducted among Peace Corps workers (e.g., 15, 16) and Americans² living abroad (e.g., 6, 8, 9, 11), little has been done to examine acculturation of Americans to other societies. The present study was designed to test the validity of the previously proposed correlates of acculturation among Americans living in Guatemala.

B. Method

The ability to identify correctly behavior patterns of the new social group which contrast with or are unknown by the original ingroup was regarded as an indicator of acculturation. A multiple-choice test of this ability was developed through extensive pretesting among Guatemalan and American student samples (12, 13, 14). The criterion for inclusion of an item in the final version of the test was a satisfactory differentiation between response choices of Guatemalans and those of American students unfamiliar with Guatemalan culture. It was also considered desirable that the items reflect behavior patterns peculiar to Guatemala rather than typical of Latin America in general. The final test consisted of 55 four-choice items covering a variety of social practices and norms.³

Campbell and LeVine's (5) explication of variables provided the basis for measures of the social psychological variables expected to be related to performance on the acculturation test. Data on these variables were collected through oral interviews consisting of open-ended questions designed to obtain information on the following dimensions:

(a) *Involvement in Guatemalan culture.* Each respondent was questioned regarding his length of residence in Guatemala, nationality of his spouse, organization memberships and social activities, consumer habits, familiarity with the language, and attention to the mass media of communication. Responses to 18 questions on these variables were coded according to the degree of familiarity with Guatemalan culture implied by the nature of the re-

sponse, with a total possible quantitative score of 61. It was predicted that frequency and extent of contact with Guatemalan social life would be positively related to acculturation. In fact, knowledge of and involvement in a culture were regarded as so closely related that scores on this variable were considered a source of validation of performance on the acculturation measure. However, the two variables were not expected to be identical, since it is possible to participate in a culture without adopting its perspective. Thus, the degree of relationship between involvement and acculturation was expected to be modified by other attitudinal factors.

(b) *Nonauthoritarianism.* Authoritarian attitudes were assessed by asking each respondent about his evaluations of Guatemalan family structure, political dictatorship, permissive child-rearing, and the position of Guatemalan Indians. (Note that these attitude questions were related specifically to Guatemalan social structure rather than to general social conditions.) The responses to these questions were scored such that low-authoritarian responses received high scores, with a total possible of 11. Based on a predicted relationship between authoritarianism and ingroup ethnocentrism, low authoritarians were expected to perform better on the acculturation test than high authoritarians. Another prediction would be generated, however, by Perlmutter's (11) contention that some high authoritarians will adopt *xenophilic* attitudes (i.e., a disposition to be attracted to things foreign and reject things domestic) in order to escape conflict with domestic authorities by displacing loyalty to less threatening foreign authorities. However, in another study, Perlmutter (10) found that xenophiles may be divided into two types—those high on authoritarianism and those low on the same dimension—exhibiting different patterns of ingroup rejection and perception of outgroups. This latter finding suggests that no clear directional relationship exists between authoritarianism and acceptance of a new culture.

(c) *Attitudes toward deviants.* Another attitudinal variable closely related to authoritarianism is strictness of pre-

2. Although we decry the ethnocentric attitudes implied in usurping the term "Americans" to refer to United States nationals, in order to avoid awkward wording, we are adopting the common English practice throughout this article.

3. Typical items include: (a) When would you see "sawdust carpets" in Antigua? A. Christmas, B. New Year's, C. Independence Day, D. Holy Week. (b) A middleclass woman needs a new dress. She will probably: A. buy one in a department store, B. buy one in a small exclusive shop, C. buy the material and have it made by a seamstress, D. send away to Mexico, the U.S., or Europe for it. (c) If a girl goes out on dates with different boys she will be considered: A. to be popular, B. to have a dubious reputation, C. to be just an average girl, D. to have fine social connections. The relationship between acculturation test scores and various demographic characteristics of the respondents is available in Seelye's article (14).

scribed sanctions to be applied against deviants from established social norms, and simplicity of explanations of such deviant behaviors. To assess this dimension, interview respondents were asked their attitudes toward Americans who "go native" in Guatemala, prescribed punishments for violent criminals, and ideas about the nature of Guatemalan guerrillas and how to combat them (responses to the latter two being coded on a three-point scale of simplicity-complexity). The total possible score on this variable was 16, representing complex, nonrigid standards of evaluation. To the extent that rigidity is related to ethnocentrism, highly unfavorable attitudes toward deviants were predicted to be related to poor performance on the acculturation measure.

(d) *Feelings of security.* To determine the extent to which each respondent felt comfortable in his daily living in Guatemala he was asked his opinions on the safety of food and water and the danger of theft and kidnapping for Americans living in Guatemala. Responses were coded in such a way that high scores were assigned to responses indicating low anxiety, with a total possible score of 12. Feelings of insecurity were predicted to be related to low acculturation scores.

(e) *Reduced commitment to original nation.* Apart from his involvement in Guatemalan culture, each respondent was also asked the extent to which he was still committed to the United States in terms of maintaining a legal residence there, plans to return there to live, and his opinion about giving up U.S. citizenship in order to evade the draft. A high score of 8 was possible on this variable, indicating low personal commitment to the United States. Low commitment was predicted to be associated with high acculturation scores.

(f) *Social contact.* Each respondent was asked seven questions regarding the amount and desirability of social intercourse with Guatemalans. These included opinions about the friendliness of Guatemalans, the appropriateness of fraternizing with natives, and the respondent's frequency of contact with Guatemalans under various social conditions. Indications of positive attitudes toward Guatemalans and high frequencies of social contact were assigned high scores, with a total possible of 18. Contact was predicted to be positively related to acculturation.

Of the 386 Americans residing in Guatemala who took the test of acculturation in the presence of an examiner during the spring of 1967, 80 were consulted about arrang-

ing a personal interview. Of these, 49, with acculturation scores ranging from 14 to 52 (out of a possible 55), consented to be interviewed. Interviews were conducted by two bilingual college students, generally at the home or place of business of the interviewee. Interviewers recorded the open-ended responses according to prearranged categories and these were later scored by the major investigators. All items were scored so that high ratings were expected to correspond to high scores on the acculturation test, and thus total interview scores were expected to be positively correlated with acculturation scores.

C. Results and Discussion

The scores of the 49 Americans, 29 women and 20 men, who took both the acculturation test and the interview, were subjected to correlational and multiple regression analyses. Table 1 reports the mean and variation of scores on each of the measured variables. The variety of responses is indicated by the degree of variance of scores on each variable around a mean which is always close to the

TABLE 1
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

(N=49)

Variable	Mean	SD
1. Involvement	25.6	6.2
2. Nonauthoritarianism	6.5	2.4
3. Attitudes toward deviants	8.6	2.4
4. Security	5.6	2.0
5. Reduced commitment to U.S.	3.8	2.1
6. Social contact	13.1	3.9
7. Acculturation	36.4	9.9

TABLE 2
INTERCORRELATIONS

Variable	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Involvement	-.04	-.04	.41*	.26	.62†	.54†
2. Nonauthoritarianism		-.01	.04	.09	.11	.17
3. Attitudes toward deviants			.11	.01	-.06	.03
4. Security				.29*	.36*	.42†
5. Reduced commitment to U.S.					.18	.35*
6. Social contact						.43†
7. Acculturation						

NOTE: Six-variable total and acculturation: $r = .61†$ $R^2 = .7123456 = .63†$ (df 6,42).

* $p < .05$.

† $p < .01$.

middle of the possible range of scores. Table 2 reports the intercorrelations among variables along with the correlation between total interview score and acculturation, and the multiple correlation value. As predicted, all of the variables included in the interview questionnaire were positively related to acculturation (although not all significantly so) and their total is significantly positively correlated with performance on the acculturation test. It is interesting that the measure of relationship between the combined variables and acculturation was not significantly improved by using multiple regression techniques over the simple unweighted sum of the six scores. Consistent with this, the raw-score weights assigned to each variable in the final regression equation were not greatly different from 1.0.⁴

Despite the relationship between each ethnocentrism variable and acculturation, the six variables are not highly interrelated among themselves, indicating that they are largely independent, additive determinants of acculturation performance. Not surprisingly, social contact scores are related to involvement in the culture, as are feelings of security. Feelings of security in Guatemalan culture are also significantly correlated with lack of commitment to the original ingroup. Otherwise, there are no significant correlations among the predictor variables. The lack of relationship between authoritarian attitudes and rigidity of attitudes toward deviants from social norms is inconsistent with the original description of the syndrome associated with the authoritarian personality (1).

The degree of relationship between scores on each predictor variable and acculturation test performance—without consideration of the intercorrelations among predictors—is reported in the last column of the matrix in Table 2. Four of the correlations are significantly positive, as predicted, but the two attitudinal variables, authoritarianism and evaluation of social deviants, do not even approach a significant relationship with acculturation, nor with any of the other predictor variables. It had been expected that measuring these values with respect to the particular target culture would enhance their relationship, if any, to acculturation, but it could be that the measuring technique failed to tap the underlying value system. Some indication that this may be the case is available from an examination of the interitem correlations for interview responses related to each variable. The average correlation, reflecting internal consistency, is lowest for the items used to measure nonauthoritarianism ($r = .08$). The interitem

relationship for attitudes toward deviants is somewhat higher ($r = .12$), but inspection of the interitem correlation matrix reveals that this is made up of two clusters of items—the three dealing with attitudes toward criminals and the two dealing with attitude complexity—which are unrelated. The average intercorrelations among items on the other variables, which were somewhat more behaviorally defined, ranged from .19 (reduced commitment to U.S.) to .40 (social contact).

Although factor analysis does not overcome the problem of differential reliabilities of measures, it can be used to determine what proportion of the common variance of each measure is related to acculturation. Therefore, the intercorrelation matrix of the seven variables in this study was subjected to principal components factor analysis resulting in the extraction of four factors, the third and fourth of which represented unique variance for the measures of nonauthoritarianism and attitudes toward deviants (reflecting the low communalities of these two variables—.198 and .123, respectively). Loadings on the first two factors were graphically rotated through the acculturation variable in order to obtain the relative weight of each variable on a factor defined by the acculturation measure. The pattern of loadings on this factor indicates the relative degree of variation of each measure shared with variation in acculturation. The obtained pattern of loadings on the factor (on which acculturation was weighted .73) supports the interpretation based on the first-order correlations, indicating even more strongly the significant contribution of cultural involvement ($a = .69$), feelings of security ($a = .61$), social contact ($a = .60$), and reduced commitment to the United States ($a = .49$), and the low relationship between acculturation and nonauthoritarianism ($a = .16$), or attitudes toward deviants ($a = .05$).

In all the analyses, involvement in the culture consistently emerged as the best single linear predictor of acculturation. One component of the involvement score was length of residence in Guatemala, which is particularly interesting in light of the U-Curve theory of attitudinal adjustment to a foreign country (2). This theory implies that ability to relate functionally to a foreign culture is curvilinearly related to length of residence because of variation in attitudinal disposition toward that culture which reaches its high

⁴ The raw-score regression formula, derived from stepwise regression analysis, was as follows: $Y' = 5.2 + .6X_1 + .6X_2 + .1X_3 + .8X_4 + .8X_5 + .2X_6$.

or low peak during intermediate periods of residence. No such curvilinearity appeared in the data concerning objective knowledge of the target culture in this study. Across five levels of length of residence in Guatemala (ranging from less than one year to more than 14 years), mean acculturation test scores increased consistently from 25.5 to 44.4. Since Becker's work (2) dealt primarily with patterns of adjustment for individuals in their early years of residence in a foreign culture, the data for persons who had resided in Guatemala for less than three years were examined separately. Mean performance for residents of less than one year ($N = 4$) was 25.5, for those of one year ($N = 9$), 30.3, and for those of two years ($N = 8$), 32.4, again consistently linear. Thus, to the extent that knowledge of culture patterns reflects attitudinal adjustment to that culture, the present data do not support a U-Curve theory of acculturation.

D. Summary

The relationships between six predictor variables (suggested by social science theories of intergroup relations) and acculturation, as the obverse of ethnocentrism, were examined with the use of a sample of 49 Americans living in Guatemala. The results of correlational and factor analyses suggest that actual contact with the foreign culture, especially to the extent that it increases the individual's sense of security within the new culture and reduces his commitment to the original ingroup, has more impact on adaptation to the culture than attitudinal variables. The pattern of intercorrelations among the predictor variables also suggests that degree of cultural contact is determined more by external factors (e.g., job circumstances, access to native residential areas and markets, social contacts, etc.) than by attitudinal positions, such as authoritarianism and rigidity of social standards, which are theoretically related to resistance to outgroup contact.

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**AN OBJECTIVE MEASURE
OF BICULTURATION:
AMERICANS IN GUATEMALA,
A CASE STUDY ***

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The need to develop new methods of measuring acculturation has not diminished since Beals' concise review of the area.¹ Most studies have approached acculturation by asking: What cognitive or emotional changes are associated with confrontation with another culture? Usually, acculturation studies have also been characterized by a concern with the changes which occur when a member of a less complex society attempts to accommodate himself to the patterns of a more complex society. The present study breaks with tradition on both these counts.²

First, the present approach is much more limited in scope. Rather than inquire into cognitive or behavioral changes, it attempts to measure the extent to which a national group is familiar with the patterns of the host country. Hence, the term "bicultural" is employed in the present study in place of "acculturated," which has a different connotative tradition. Biculturation is defined as the ability to perform those patterns of another culture which lead to effective functioning in the target culture, and to recognize their meaning when another person performs them. "If,

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¹ Ralph Beals, "Acculturation," in A. L. Kroeber, editor, *Anthropology Today*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 621-641.

² This research was financed by a grant from the Colegio Americano de Guatemala. The interview phase of the study was supported by a grant-in-aid from the Programa Interamericano de Información Popular (San José, Costa Rica), and by a faculty grant from the Universidad del Valle de Guatemala (Guatemala City). The final testing was accomplished in the spring of 1967, and the interviewing was done in the summer of 1967. Many scholars gave valuable assistance to the research, principal of whom are Robert B. MacVean (La Universidad del Valle de Guatemala), T. Daigle (El Colegio Americano de Guatemala), and Miguel Palacios (La Universidad del Valle de Guatemala). Appreciation is also due the following colleagues who took the time to read critically an earlier draft of the manuscript: Lynn Owens (Testing Bureau, Northern Illinois University), Alfredo Méndez (El Programa Interamericano de Información Popular), Martha Galbraith (Anthropology Department, University of Pennsylvania), Abdo A. Elkholy (Sociology Department, Northern Illinois University), Howard Lee Nostrand (Romance Languages Department, University of Washington), Marilyn B. Brewer (Psychology Department, Northwestern University), Rebecca M. Valette (Modern Languages Department, Boston College), John Riordan (Foreign Languages Department, Houghton Mifflin Co.), Miriam M. Bryan, Protase E. Woodford, and Stephen Stupak (all three from the Division of Test Development, Educational Testing Service).

with or without understanding, a person learns to function in the other culture, to act so that his actions have the meanings intended, we can say that he has become bicultural."³ A second break with most past studies is that the present study focuses on two complex western cultures. Reduced to its simplest terms, this study tried to find out whether useful information could be obtained from an objective measure of biculturalization.

Purpose of Research

More formally, the aims of the present research were to: (1) test the feasibility of employing an objective instrument to measure the cultural understanding of a highly literate group living in a second culture, (2) ascertain the present level of biculturalization of a sample of the Americans residing in Guatemala, according to groups of age, sex, occupation, religion, length of stay in Guatemala, fluency in Spanish, and marital status, (3) determine the statistical significance of the contribution of educational background and both geographical and environmental mobility to the process of biculturalization as measured by the test instrument.

A detailed discussion of the postulates and corollaries upon which this study was based has already been published.⁴ Some of the major postulates were that a measure of biculturalization can be obtained from a test based on an empirical sampling from a universe of contrastive patterns; that to function in a culture is to satisfy one's needs through the culture, and that these needs should be satisfied through patterns which the target culture offers; and that certain biographical data are indicators of an accelerated rate of biculturalization, while certain other biographical data are associated with an inhibited rate of biculturalization.

Each individual test item consisted of a stem and four multiple-choice responses based on analogy to phonemic principles. The correct response presented a situation which was totally unfamiliar to Americans or which contrasted in form, distribution, or meaning to the pattern which Americans recognize as their own. A discussion of the problems involved in designing the items, along with a description of the pilot test groups and of the control exerted on the variables of age, sex, social class, and residence, is available.⁵ The following items taken from the test are presented as representative illustrations.⁶

Sample Items of Test

10. If a girl goes out on dates with different boys, in Latin America she will be considered
 - A to be popular.
 - B to have a dubious reputation.
 - C to be just an average girl.
 - D to have fine social connections.
19. What is common behavior in Guatemala during a typical overthrow of the government?
 - A The Red Cross sets up emergency kitchens.
 - B The people from the Capital evacuate to smaller towns which are safer.
 - C (Both of the above)
 - D (None of the above)
33. A Latin American is stopped by the police and is issued a ticket. He would probably
 - A argue emotionally.
 - B say nothing.
 - C say "I should call my lawyer."
 - D say "Can't we settle this in another way?"
41. While laying bricks, a construction worker is severely injured. He will most likely be taken to
 - A the Red Cross Emergency Hospital.
 - B the Social Security Hospital.
 - C a private clinic.
 - D the company doctor.
43. Eugenia and Hernando, devout Catholics, decide to get married. They
 - A have to have a civil ceremony followed by a religious ceremony.
 - B have to have a religious ceremony followed by a civil ceremony.
 - C have a choice between A and B.
 - D may have either a religious ceremony or a civil ceremony.
53. A woman has died and there is a wake at her home. Coffee and tamales are being served. Of the following, which would least likely be seen?
 - A A group of men telling jokes.
 - B Everybody dressed in black.
 - C A group of people singing hymns.
 - D Women praying every hour.

³ Robert Lado, *Language Testing*, London: Longmans, 1961; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964, pp. 280-281.

⁴ H. Ned Seelye, "Measuring the Ability to Function Cross-Culturally," in H. Ned Seelye, editor, *A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers*, Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1968, pp. 34-43.

⁵ H. Ned Seelye, "Field Notes on Cross-Cultural Testing," *Language Learning*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 1 and 2 (1966), pp. 77-85.

⁶ The correct responses are: 10-B, 19-D, 33-D, 41-B, 43-A, 53-C. The test format was suggested by Robert Lado in *Language Testing*, pp. 283-288.

Item Validation

To validate the individual items, the pilot test was administered to 447 Guatemalans, and those items upon which there was not at least 52% agreement concerning the best response were discarded. The abbreviated pilot test was then translated into English and administered to 197 Americans aged 15-17 who had never resided in Latin America. Half of these subjects were secondary school students in a public school of New Jersey, and the other half were students from a public school in California.⁷ The significance of the difference between proportions of Guatemalans and Americans answering each item correctly was computed. Items which fell below the .0001 level of significance were eliminated.⁸

To gain an indication of the "universality" of the test, it was administered to several hundred students in Mexico and Colombia. The distribution of the scores, as seen by pretesting accomplished in Guatemala, the United States, Mexico and Colombia, placed the United States at one end of the continuum and Guatemala at the other end, with Mexico and Colombia midway between the other two. This was as desired, since the objective of the test was to discriminate knowledge of Guatemalan cultural patterns, and not general Latin American patterns. The test was also designed so that recognition of historical, geographical, literary, anthropological or other such textbook knowledge of Guatemala would not assist one in earning a high score.

Content Description of Test Items

The range of cultural situations included in the stems of the 55 items comprising the final version of the test were categorized in terms of Murdock's *Outline of Cultural Materials*.⁹ Some of the test items were classified under two or more subject headings. Since those items included in the final version tell but half the story of test development, subject-matter descriptions of the 54 *unsuccessful* items not included in the final version of the test are also given along with the successful items in Table 1. It will be ob-

⁷ It is interesting to note that only 16 of the pretest Guatemalans, or 3.5%, fell within the range of the pretest Americans. Of these 16 low-scoring tests, all but two originated from the same night school which contained students of mostly low-class backgrounds. A number of these cases appeared to be functional illiterates who were able to answer only 10 or 20 multiple-choice questions in an hour and a half.

⁸ This level of significance corresponds to a Z deviate of 3.89. The formulas used to compute this were obtained from J. C. Peatman. *Introduction to Applied Statistics*, New York: Harper and Row, 1954, pp. 261-264.

⁹ George P. Murdock, et al., *Outline of Cultural Materials*, third edition, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1950. (A fourth edition has subsequently been published.)

Table 1

Category per Murdock*	Subject-Matter Description of Items	
	Number of items per category included in the final version of test	Number pretest items eliminated due to lack of ability to discriminate Amer- icans and Guatemalans
(13) geography		2
(14) human biology		3
(15) behavior processes & personality	2	2
(17) history and culture change	1	
(18) total culture	4	18
(19) language	1	2
(20) communication	11	16
(26) food consumption	2	10
(29) clothing	3	4
(34) structures		2
(36) settlements	1	3
(43) exchange	1	1
(44) marketing		2
(46) labor	1	2
(51) living standards & routines	1	5
(52) recreation	15	4
(53) fine arts	1	4
(54) entertainment	3	2
(55) individuation & mobility	5	
(56) social stratification		9
(57) interpersonal relations	3	29
(58) marriage	3	
(60) kinship	2	
(61) kin groups	2	
(62) community	1	1
(64) state		2
(65) government activities	2	
(66) political behavior	2	2
(67) law	2	2
(68) offenses and sanctions	3	
(70) armed forces		1
(72) war	1	1
(73) social problems	1	
(74) health and welfare	3	
(76) death	1	1
(77) religious beliefs	1	3
(78) religious practices	1	
(79) ecclesiastical organization	13	1
(82) ideas about nature and man		2
(83) sex		1
(85) infancy and childhood		1
(86) socialization		1
(87) education	5	9
(88) adolescence, adulthood & old age	6	15
OTHERS	8	9

* The numbers in parentheses which precede a subject-matter entry indicate that the entry fell within the latitude suggested by Murdock's general classifications, of which he offers 88.

served from the Table that by far the largest categories represented in the test are communication, recreation and ecclesiastical organization. On the other hand, the categories of interpersonal relations, food consumption, total culture, social stratification, and adolescence, adulthood and old age presented this test designer with problems of item construction which he did not always successfully solve. In spite of reworking some of the items, the number of items from these "difficult" categories which survived pretesting was meager. Of the 30 categories from Murdock included in the final test, 20 have two or more items per category, and six categories contain five or more items.

The failure to devise any successful items representing geography, ideas about nature and man, sex, infancy and childhood, socialization, armed forces, and marketing is for the most part a result of lack of attempt. In areas such as total culture and social stratification a considerable attempt was made but problems in choosing the situation for testing, wording the question, and avoiding abstractions (which usually proved fatal) were weighty in these instances. Then, too, there was a practical consideration. After the initial "bag" of items had been pretested, it was much easier to discard unsuccessful items rather than to set up a new run of pretesting for new ones (nearly 500 Guatemalans in five different schools which were controlled for social class and sex were used for the pretesting). The question at this point was: Would a test which did not sample some of the categories which we intuitively felt to be important still yield valuable information in a recognizable form?

Sample of Americans Tested in Guatemala

According to U.S. government figures¹⁰ in 1959 there were 1,590,000 Americans living abroad. Of these, only a third were civilians; the rest were military personnel and their dependents. By 1966, figures reported in *Newsweek*¹¹ raised the total number of Americans abroad to 2,500,000 and attributed the increase almost entirely to the civilian sector, although the accuracy of this is questionable. There are reported to be 25,000 Americans living in Mexico. The writer's own estimate of the number of Americans living in Guatemala, based on a number of unofficial sources, places the population of the American colony at slightly over 5,000.¹²

A representational section of the American population in Guatemala was sought for testing. There were, however,

several limiting factors within which the testing was to be accomplished. First, it was not thought desirable to test anyone under the age of ten. Second, it was reasoned that the validity of the test would decrease were testing prolonged beyond six weeks as the temptation for the respondents to discuss the questions with friends was great. Third, in the absence of a clear definition of what constituted a representational section of the American colony in Guatemala, the personal-data categories of age, occupation, religion, and length of stay in Guatemala were taken as crude indices of the representational spread of the sample. In operational terms, this meant that 20 or more subjects were sought for each of these major categories.

The test and personal-data questionnaire were administered to 401 subjects during a six-week period in April and May of 1967.¹³ Of these, 15 subjects of nationalities other than United States were identified and their tests were subsequently discarded; the tabulations reported here are based on the remaining 386 subjects. Eleven percent of those asked to take the test refused, and nine percent of those tested demonstrated reluctance before finally acceding. All of the subjects finished the test once they had begun it except one.

Approximately 10% of the Americans over the age of ten who resided in Guatemala were included in the sample. To what extent did the sample represent a cross-section of the American colony in Guatemala? Although it is not suggested that Americans abroad are a representative sampling of the United States population (they obviously are not), to get an idea of the composition of the test sample in comparison with a model of the United States population based on sex, age, religion and education distributions, see Table 2.¹⁴

¹⁰ Reported in Harlan Cleveland, G. J. Mangone and J. C. Adams, *The Overseas Americans*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960, p. 3.

¹¹ Nov. 28, 1966, p. 43.

¹² No useful information was obtained through official sources; the figures on the American population of Guatemala were apparently regarded as confidential. However, the writer went to some rather devious (but legal) means to obtain the information from several government personnel. The information thus obtained was interpreted against the figures reported by Mario Monteforte Toledo, *Guatemala: Monografía sociológica*, Mexico, D. F.: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Autónoma de México, 1959.

¹³ A copy of the personal-data questionnaire can be found in Seelye, "Measuring the Ability to Function Cross-Culturally," *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁴ The proportions for the United States population are only roughly approximate since the sources upon which they were based often grouped the categories differently than did this study. The sex, age, and religion figures for the United States model are based on reports published in H. Hansen, editor, *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, New York, 1963, while the figures for education in the United States model are taken from Kenneth A. Simon and W. Vane Grant, *Digest of Educational Research: 1964 Edition*, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1964.

Several noticeable differences in population became evident. The 15-20-year-old age group was 24% more heavily represented in our sample than in a model U.S. sample. This was probably the result of the student groups available to us for testing, and also possibly a consequence of the more youthful composition of the immigrant.¹⁵ In light of this second element, the 14% larger 21-40-year-old age groups in the sample, and the 13% smaller representation of Americans over 40, appears reasonable. The 8% increase in Protestants and the 9% decrease in the number of Catholics which a model United States sample would lead one to expect perhaps reflects the different socio-economic characteristics of these religions in the United States. The large sampling of Latter Day Saints (18%) resulted from a largescale testing of Mormon missionaries during a religious conference. The higher educational level of the Americans in Guatemala included in the sample bespeaks the nature of the American immigrant: he goes abroad as a technical advisor or white collar worker, rather than to escape an oppressive economic situation at home.

Procedure

To be able to determine whether the different categories such as age, sex, and education were operating to affect test performance, the distribution for the whole sample was determined. The test scores ranged from only 14 items correct to a high of 52 correct (out of a possible 55 items), with a mean score for the sample of 33. The tests were then divided into three groups according to score: low (those scoring between 14 and 29 items correct), medium (30-39), and high (40-52). Of those taking the test, 31% scored under 30 items correct, while 49% scored between 30 and 39, and 20% of the subjects scored 40 or better. It was reasoned that any random collection of test scores would reflect approximately these proportions unless the variable under study caused a departure from the expected norm.

To determine whether the deviation observed in the different categories was a result of chance variation from the random configuration, or whether the variation was significant, the Chi-Square test was calculated for each matrix of observed proportions.¹⁶ Using the .01 level of statistical significance as the criterion, nine of the 14 major categories in this study were found to have statistically significant effects, all but two reaching the .001 level of significance.

A general description of these results, in terms of the statistical significance of effects of the various biographical data which were tested, is provided in the following section.

TABLE 2

Model of U.S. and
Test Sample Populations

TRAIT		U.S. MODEL	SAMPLE MODEL
sex:	male	49%	54%
	female	51%	46%
age:	under 10	22%	not tested
	10-14	10%	10%
	15-20	7%	31%
	21-40	25%	39%
	over 40	33%	20%
religion:	Protestant	35%	43%
	Catholic	23%	14%
	Jew	3%	4%
	Mormon	1%	18%
	other	38%	10%
education	less than 5 years	8%	10%
	at least 4 years		
	college	9%	34%

Results

Identified vs. Anonymous Tests. A third of the subjects did not sign their names to the tests but there was no statistically significant difference between the scores of the unsigned and signed tests. Since the student population was directed to sign the test, and since the Peace Corps was not offered the option of signing, a separate matrix was tabulated which excluded the Peace Corps and subjects under 20 years of age, and the effect of signature was still not significant. Two occupational categories, housewives and government personnel, were the most reluctant to sign the test.

¹⁵ Monteforte Toledo, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61.

¹⁶ The matrices referred to in this section were drawn up for Chi-Square testing. They consisted of three rows (row 1: high scoring group; row 2: middle scoring group; row 3: low scoring group) which were bisected by columns according to the variables under study.

Sex. Differences in scores between males and females were statistically significant. Females tended to get the higher scores. There were 28% females in the high group vs. 13% males, and 10% fewer females than males in the low test group.

Age. The effect of age of the respondents was significant. The poorest performers were those under 15 years of age: only 5% scored in the high group, while 63% scored in the low. The age categories constantly improved in test performance, culminating in the "over 40" age category which achieved a 35% high and just 13% low. The largest single increase in performance based on age categories occurred in the 27-32-year-olds, both in terms of increased proportions in the high group and in decreased proportions in the low. There was little difference in test scores between the 15-20-year-olds and the 21-26-year-olds.

Occupation. This category had significant effects. The highest scorers were those from the business sector (N=24) with 46% in the high group and only 8% in the low. Housewives and teachers followed with 37% and 33% respectively in the high group, and 19% and 17% respectively in the low. The "other" category fell in the middle, followed by the government workers (21% high, 18% low) and students (15% high, 44% low). Missionaries and Peace Corps workers scored the lowest with 2% and 8% respectively in the high group, and 32% and 50% in the low. The relatively low position of the students might be a product of their youth, while government workers, the missionaries and the Peace Corps are hampered by their brief tours of duty—usually less than three years. Further, the majority of the Peace Corps tested had been in Guatemala only about six months, and most of the missionaries averaged only about a year of residence. When compared with members of other occupations with a similar period of residence, the missionaries and the Peace Corps seemed to be a year or two ahead of the average American in Guatemala. Then, too, the urban bias of the test may have placed those people whose major contact with Guatemala has been rural at a disadvantage.

Religion. The effects of religious affiliation reached a .001 level of significance, but when Catholic and Protestant categories were compared they both were distributed according to what random sampling would provide and were not, therefore, significantly different. The combined agnostic and "none" categories (N=34) performed the highest, with 35% in the high group and 23% in the low. The "other

category was the next highest with 36% in the high group and 27% in the low (N=22, 16 of whom were Jews).

Whether the subject rated himself religiously conservative, middle-of-the-road, or liberal had a significant effect. The conservatives did approximately as random sampling would predict except for fewer high scores and more middle scores. The middle-of-the-road proportions closely resembled those of the conservatives except that the former had fewer middle and more low scores. The liberals did considerably better than the other two categories: 35% scored in the high group and only 15% in the low. In this survey, people who labeled themselves middle-of-the-road seemed to have more in common with conservatives than with liberals.

Length of Stay in Guatemala. As intuition would suggest, this category proved to have a significant effect on test scores. There was a steady increase in the proportion of respondents in the high-scoring group by years of residence, and a corresponding decrease in the low-scoring group. The subjects who had been in Guatemala less than six months achieved 2% highs and 55% lows, while 78% of the subjects who had lived in Guatemala for over 15 years scored in the high group and none of them scored in the low. Fewer Americans placed in the low-scoring group than random sampling would predict after about two years of residence, while the breakthrough into the high-scoring group did not occur until after four years of residence in Guatemala. The middle proportions evened off after about six months and finally decreased drastically after 15 years of residence, in favor of the high group. *Figure 1* shows in detail the patterns of test performance with regard to length of stay in Guatemala.

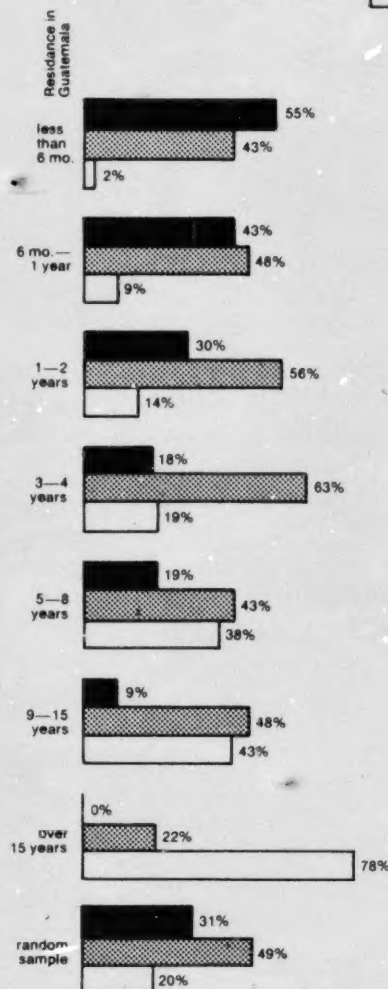
So that the findings of this study might be readily compared with other future quantitative studies, an index based on the extent to which a given residence group fell short of or exceeded the theoretical random distributions is provided in *Table 3*. A value of 24% indicates that random expectancy was exceeded by 24% of the sample in that category. A value of -6% on the other hand would indicate that that residence group fell 6% short of achieving expectancy. Two points plus or minus random expectancy were treated as having achieved what random sampling would predict (x).

Previous Ethnic and Language Contact. Although many subjects evinced difficulty in deciphering what was meant by "ethnic contact," the amount of such contact came

Figure 1

Length of stay
in Guatemala &
Test Performance

low-scoring group
medium-scoring group
high-scoring group



close to achieving significance (it did reach the .05 level), and when the proportions for ethnic contact were combined with those for language contact the resulting matrix achieved a .005 level of significance. This represents a synergic effect since the level of significance of language contact taken by itself was .01. Previous contact with foreign languages, therefore, seemed to be somewhat significant, and, to a lesser degree, ethnic contact. Together they afforded an index which was stronger than that of either separately. No effort was made to determine the relevancy of contact with particular languages to test-performance.

Level of Education. The effect of this category was significant. From the primary level of education up through five years of college there was a steady decrease in the proportion of scores which fell into the low group (14-29 items correct). Those with only a primary education did very poorly, with only 8% in the high-scoring group and 59% in the low group. This performance was poorer than that of the general 10-14-year-old age category. In the low group, the expected (random) distribution was exhibited by subjects with high school education through four years of college. In the high group, distribution beyond random expectations did not occur until the 2-3-year college level, and then consistently thereafter.

When the categories for level of education were reduced to three (primary-high school, 1-3 years of college, over 3 years of college), an effect with a level of significance of .005 was achieved. Since the matrix based on a wider spread in level of education yielded a significance of .001, the slightly lower level of significance for the reduced categories might argue in favor of the discriminating power of the wider spread for purposes of predicting test performance.

Type of Education. Unlike the level of education, it made no significant difference whether a subject attended a small or large school, whether it was co-educational or not, public or private, or whether the respondent attended one or many schools, or what he studied while in college. Although the effect of quantity of education was significant, the type of education did not seem to affect test performance.

Prior Overseas Orientation. The effect of previous training in comparative cultures ("none, a social science course, and anthropology or area studies course, orientation of less than 50 hours in conjunction with a job, orientation or more than 50 hours") was, surprisingly, not significant.

cant. Those with orientations of less than 50 hours did better, in this sample, than those with more than 50 hours, indicating that another variable was probably at work here.

Job Mobility. The number of positions held by the subjects in the past ten years was not found to have a significant effect on test scores.

Fluency in Spanish. The effect of Spanish fluency was significant, whether measured on a five-point or three-point scale of fluency. There was no significant difference between male and female achievement in fluency. When subsequent interviewing sampled the accuracy of the subjects' self-assessment in language fluency, their estimates were found to be sound.

Table 3

Deviation from
Random Expectations:
Residence in Guatemala

Residence in Guatemala	low	medium	high
less than 6 months	+24%	-6%	-18%
6 months to 1 year	+12%	X	-12%
1 to 2 years	X	+7%	-7%
3 to 4 years	-16%	+14%	X
5 to 8 years	-12%	-6%	+18%
9 to 15 years	-22%	X	+23%
over 15 years	-31%	-27%	+58%

Civil Status. Whether the subject was married or not made a statistically significant difference. Those married to a Spanish-speaking spouse did much better than either the unmarrieds or those married to a non-native speaker of Spanish. The unmarried did slightly poorer than those married to a non-native. (In responding to the questions about marriage, there was a tendency for single subjects to check the "I am not married to a native" option instead of the more accurate "I am not married" option.)

Travel. One surprising result of this study was that travel, either domestic or foreign, either including or excluding travel in Spanish-speaking countries other than Guatemala, did not significantly affect performance of the test sample either in terms of the number of places visited or the length of residence in each area.

Inter-Correlation of Variables. The variables of sex, age, length of stay in Guatemala, level of education, civil status, and fluency in Spanish did not correlate significantly with each other although they did correlate highly with test per-

formance. This suggests that they are independently variable and when taken together might afford a means of predicting test performance.¹⁷

Independent Measures of Cultural Adjustment

Tolerance vs. Intolerance. The Woodridge Reasoning Test¹⁸ was designed to measure the effect of a tolerant or intolerant attitude toward ethnic groups (Jews and Negroes) by a rather complex scoring system based on the subject's performance on a syllogistic reasoning test. An impartial subject's score would be zero, while a subject prejudiced in favor of Jews and Negroes would receive a plus score; the score of an intolerant subject would have a negative value. The Woodridge Reasoning Test was administered to 49 secondary students who had taken the writer's objective cross-cultural test. The students' Woodridge Reasoning scores ranged from -7 to +7. It was hypothesized that there would be a correlation between the Woodridge Reasoning scores and the cross-cultural scores, that the more tolerant individuals would do better on the cross-cultural test than the less tolerant. The scores of the two tests were then correlated and no significant correlation was obtained. If it is assumed that both measures were accurate, then the suggestion arises that there might not be a relation between a prejudiced personality and his ability to learn to function in a second culture. On the other hand, it could be that intolerance relative to Jews and Negroes is irrelevant here.

Interviews. Approximately 50 subjects past the age of 15 who were the high scorers on the cross-cultural test, and

¹⁷ There is widespread interest in an instrument which will predict an American's success abroad, but to date an adequate predictive instrument has not been developed, nor was it the purpose of this research to develop one. Although this study did probe the relevancy of certain biographical data to test-performance, consequently suggesting several broad traits which were associated in this study with success in biculturalization, it did not develop a test which can be administered to subjects prior to their having lived abroad. The Carnegie-sponsored study of Americans abroad (Cleveland, Mangone, Adams, op. cit.) listed five ingredients of "the universals of effective performance" of the American abroad: technical skill, a belief in mission, cultural empathy, a sense for politics, and organizational ability. The study advised job recruiters to look for four main characteristics in potential employees: (1) the resourceful and buoyant personality, (2) environmental mobility, (3) educational breadth, and (4) "signs of a talent for building institutions." The present research did not find either environmental mobility or educational breadth (as opposed to length) to be statistically associated with biculturalization to a significant degree. No attempt was made in the present research to measure points 1 and 4. Valuable insights into the problems that await the American abroad, and empirical data to assist development of programs to prepare Americans for living abroad, can be found throughout the study edited by Richard D. Lambert: *Americans Abroad*, a special issue of *The Annals*, No. 368 (November, 1966).

¹⁸ Norman M. Prentice, "The Comparability of Positive and Negative Items in Scales of Ethnic Prejudice," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. LII, No. 3 (May, 1956), pp. 420-421, and "The Influence of Ethnic Attitudes on Reasoning About Ethnic Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. LV, No. 2 (September, 1957), pp. 270-272.

50 low scorers, were selected for interviewing, along with a control group selected from every tenth name of the *American Society Directory*, which also listed non-members. Each prospective interviewee was sent a letter explaining the purpose of the interview and his cooperation was elicited. Each subject was then approached directly or called on the telephone in an attempt to arrange an interview date. It was discovered that 63 of the subjects for interviewing had left the country (two to four months after administration of the objective test), 40 subjects refused to submit to an interview, and an additional 23 people broke appointments and never were successfully interviewed. All in all, interviews with 212 people were attempted but only 86 interviews resulted. Of these 86, 29 represented the high scorers on the cross-cultural test, 16 were from the low scorers, and the other 42 were randomly selected. Cleveland, Mangone, and Adams¹⁹ interviewed several hundred Americans abroad and report no refusals: they went through institutional channels to elicit cooperation; we appealed directly to the individual.

The interview itself, which contained some 50 open-ended questions and took about 30 minutes to administer, was developed by the writer with the active assistance of four bilingual potential interviewers, two of whom eventually did all of the interviewing.²⁰ Many of the interview questions were prompted by some of the different theoretical propositions concerning ethnocentrism as elaborated by Campbell and LeVine.²¹

The questionnaire was tried on a half dozen subjects (they were not counted in the N of 86) before the final version was developed, but it was not pretested nor subjected to item analysis. The questionnaire attempted to probe the cultural involvement of the Americans through a measure of their institutional involvements, transfer of primary and derived needs, attitudes toward deviants, feelings of marginality and insecurity, national self-commitment, authoritarian attitudes, social distance, immediate friendship groups, and involvement with the mass media.²² The re-

sponse to each question was assigned a value of from zero to three according to the degree of cultural involvement as suggested by the theory upon which the question was based.

It was hypothesized that the high scorers on the objective test (interview group No. 1) would also score higher on the interview than those who scored lowest on the objective test (interview group No. 2), and that the difference in interview scores of the two groups would be significant. It was further hypothesized that the difference between the scores of group 1 and/or group 2 when compared to the control group (interview group No. 3) would be less significant.

The difference in proportions of interview scores of group 1 (high scorers on the objective test) and group 2 (low scorers) reached a statistical significance of .01. Neither group 1 or group 2 achieved this level of significance when compared with the random control group. This would tend to support the writer's hypothesis that, on a group level, the objective test was a measure of biculturalization. When the individual test scores and raw interview scores were compared, a correlation of .53 obtained. The interview questions were then independently reevaluated (irrelevant questions eliminated, etc.) and the responses rescored by a social psychologist.²³ The resulting correlation between the objective-test scores and the interview scores was .63.

Discussion

Although the objective test often failed to discriminate between understanding and mere fact accumulation, there is little societal incentive to accumulate the kind of "facts" the test measures. Unlike "culture" in the fine-arts sense, prestige remains largely unaffected by the corpus of the cross-cultural test. Consequently, it can be argued that the subject matter tested in the objective test lies nearer the apex of understanding than do items whose recognition affords, ipso facto, a symbol of upper-class intellectual achievement.

Since the test items were selected empirically rather than according to a conceptual construct, it was necessary to assume that this method of test construction would yield an approximate index of the level of biculturalization a cultural stranger achieves in a second culture. The cultural universe of items included in the test was demonstrated to

¹⁹ Cleveland, et al., op. cit.

²⁰ Claudia Smith and Arlette Halfon, both of Guatemala City.

²¹ Donald T. Campbell and Robert A. LeVine, *Propositions About Ethnocentrism From Social Science Theories*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965, mimeo; Campbell and LeVine, *Ethnocentrism Field Manual*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965, mimeo.

²² The following are some examples of the interview questions: Where do your children go to school? What sport events have you seen in Guatemala this last year? How should the Guatemalan government combat the guerillas? (This question was coded in terms of the complexity of the reply.) What food can an American safely eat? How often do your children invite Guatemalan friends over for the day? What radio programs do you listen to? How many Guatemalan weddings have you been invited to in the past year?

²³ Dr. Marilyn B. Brewer, Dept. of Psychology, Northwestern University.

discriminate between Guatemalans and Americans who had never been in Guatemala. It also discriminated Americans who had lived in Guatemala a short time from those with considerable residence. That the cultural universe which was excluded from the test lacks the power of discrimination has not, of course, been shown. It may be argued that a test based on a wider or different criterion of item selection might yield more information.²⁴ This research took the view that the primary need was to devise a test capable of discrimination and that conceptual refinements must necessarily await further research in the area of cultural understanding.

The general pattern of cultural understanding which the results of the test suggest appears to be reasonable in terms of what previous research would lead one to expect.²⁵

This plausibility, in turn, encourages an acceptance of empirically selected test items as capable of measuring cultural understanding. It is not proposed, however, that justification for using an objective test of biculturalization be attempted on the basis of the data the test produces—this would be an example of circular reasoning. The comparison of the results of the interviews with the results of the objective test gives further weight to the central assumption that an objective test of the type described here can afford a measure of biculturalization.

Certain biographical traits were associated with high test performance in the present research. Subjects who performed best tended to be over the age of 26, female, religious liberals, educated beyond the second year of college, married to native speakers of Spanish, and residents of Guatemala for more than two years. This research did not find either geographical or environmental mobility, or breadth of education (as opposed to length of education) to be significant to biculturalization as measured by the cross-cultural objective test.

A measure of biculturalization of the type administered in Guatemala enables the investigator to: (1) measure the rate at which knowledge of the target culture is acquired; (2) identify those categories of people whose learning rate diverges from the norm; and (3) predict the relative involvement of certain categories of cultural strangers in the target culture.

Implications

While the instrument described here was designed to measure the biculturalization of the American colony in Guatemala, one can speculate on its implications for other areas:

1. The interview results would suggest that knowledge of even apparently superficial cultural patterns goes hand in hand with involvement in the target culture. If, then, a highly bicultural group is tantamount to a group deeply involved in the target culture, it would appear that an index of biculturalization can also provide an index of acculturation.

2. While the process one presumably goes through to become acculturated to a second culture is obviously not composed of discrete steps, for purposes of study the process can be broken down into three phases: A. involvement in the culture, B. acquisition of knowledge, and C. changes in cognitive preferences. This study has presented a method of measuring the first two steps, the bicultural phase. An investigator interested in the cognitive and behavioral changes which accompany living in a world where the culture in one's head clashes with the way those around him live may find an index of biculturalization to be a useful preface to an attitudinal study.

3. A study of biculturalization can be useful to investigators interested in studying the effect of different variables on the learning curve. It also provides a means of discovering how knowledge of a culture is acquired.

4. Teachers of foreign languages may find it advantageous to view the cultural context of their language classes within the "neutral" dimensions of biculturalization, rather than within the pedagogically more questionable aims of acculturation.

5. The content of the cross-cultural test suggests ways to broaden the scope of the cultural items which can claim a place in the language classroom. The common emphasis on art, literature, music, and a few place names, could well be expanded to include much more concern with everyday patterns of life in the target culture.

6. Professional test designers interested in measuring cultural knowledge should find this technique suggestive. The multiple-choice objective format of the cross-cultural test can be helpful to classroom teachers interested in designing their own culture tests.²⁶

²⁴ See, for example, John A. Upshur, "Cross-Cultural Testing: What to Test," *Language Learning*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 3 and 4 (1966), pp. 183-196. A rejoinder to Upshur's criticisms is available in Seeley, "Measuring the Ability to Function Cross-Culturally," *op. cit.*

²⁵ Cleveland, et al., *op. cit.*, and Richard D. Lambert, *op. cit.* (see footnote 17).

²⁶ Other aids in designing culture tests are available in Lado, *op. cit.*; Rebecca M. Valette, *Modern Language Testing: A Handbook*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967; H. Ned Seeley, "Item Validation and Measurement Techniques in Culture Tests," in *A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers*, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-33; Fathi S. Youssef, "Cross-Cultural Testing: An Aspect of the Resistance Reaction," *Language Learning*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3 and 4 (December, 1968), pp. 227-234.

7. While the orientation of this study was theoretically speculative— it was almost two years after initiating the research before there was much empirical evidence to substantiate our guess that an objective measure of biculturation could be a useful instrument—its value may well be more practical than theoretical. As an aid to the development of specific programs in cultural training for the Peace Corps, the Diplomatic Corps, or any other group destined to live in a foreign country for an extended period, continued research into the subject of this paper might be amply justified. Future studies may want to place more emphasis on those areas of culture which are less formally structured than the items of the present test, but which nevertheless have deep-rooted, internally-fixed patterns.

It is believed that this research represents the first attempt to collect field data on biculturation via an objective test of contrastive cultural items. This approach has yielded quantitative information which other methods of inquiry have failed to provide, while at the same time remaining silent on other related matters of interest. It is suggested that an objective measure of biculturation be employed to provide a composite picture of the range and incidence of cultural awareness, thus complementing an in-depth study of literate subjects residing in a second culture.

TESTING UNDERSTANDING OF THE FOREIGN CULTURE *

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Foreign language teachers need to test their students' understanding of the foreign cultural and societal context for two purposes: to judge the achievement of each learner, and to judge the effectiveness of the instruction. For this latter purpose it is not necessary to test every learner. When the group of learners is large, a representative sampling will suffice for "quality control" of the instruction. The understanding to be tested for, however, is the same for both purposes, and it needs to be carefully defined before tests can be designed to measure the extent to which the understanding is present.

"Understanding" of a culture pattern is taken to mean a combination of *experience* of illustrative instances with *knowledge* about what is illustrated, the combination resulting in the ability to do something that relates to the pattern.

The capabilities that matter are neither the experience nor the knowledge of the patterns. It is not important that the learner be able either to recount experiences or to repeat generalizations. Least of all does the retention of "facts" prove that the learner has the capabilities we aim to develop.

There appear to be some nine capabilities—nine kinds of understanding, excluding mere factual retention—that are proper, significant objectives of foreign language teaching, and indeed of any other instruction, insofar as it aims to bring about understanding of a sociocultural whole. The present paper will list nine objectives, each accompanied by a few test questions. These questions have not been tried out: they are offered only to illustrate that each kind of understanding can be tested by at least one type of question found in the check list that follows. For the Spanish examples, we are indebted to Mr. H. Ned Seelye.

* From H. Ned Seelye, ed., *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1970, pp. 161-170.

Check List of Techniques for Testing

(type a) Multiple choice

(type aa) includes the question, "Is x the same as y, or different from y?" — according to a given criterion.

(type ab) includes true-false, which is generally to be avoided because it encourages an undesirable, simplistic attitude, and because it involves, on the examiner's part, the presenting of false statements.

(type ac) includes options of grouping the answers listed.

(type ad) pictorial cue. (Cues for all the types of test question can be pictorial, supplemented if necessary by spoken or written language.)

(type b) Blank to fill in

(type ba) includes close procedure (test or utterance with random or systematic omission of culture-related items.) Culturally acceptable synonyms must be accepted as correct answers.

(type bd) pictorial cue.

(type c) A statement, of length sufficient to answer the question asked.

(type cd) pictorial cue.

(type d) Action, kinesic and/or linguistic, in a simulated situation.

(type dd) pictorial cue.

The Kinds of Understanding to Be Tested

The types of understanding are listed here in an order of apparent difficulty, beginning with those that seem teachable at the lower age levels. An alternative order would be that of priority based on importance for the self-development of the learner (no. 4 might then come first), or importance for the traveler, or for harmony between peoples.

Mr. John Clarke of Educational Testing Service cautions the examiner to distinguish between the items that test di-

rectly for the desired behavior (type d under 1 and under 6) and the items that give more or less indirect evidence that the examinee would succeed in the real-life situation (type c under 1).

The test questions under each number are preceded by a letter indicating the type of question, following the check list above. An asterisk marks the intended correct answer.

1. The ability to react appropriately in a social situation calling for a conventionalized propriety, or for the resolution of a conflict.

(type a) Multiple-choice question calling for the correct rejoinder, e.g., a well brought-up French child of ten would greet his teacher with:

A. Ça va?

B. Allô.

C. Bonjour.

* D. Bonjour, Monsieur. (The situation and any instructions should all be given in the foreign language.)

(type c) An essay question: What is the effect of a given theme on social behavior; the arts; etc.?

(type d) An action to be performed, e.g., show me how a Frenchman expects you to shake hands. Or, illustrate points of table manners.

(type c) Conflict situation. A question calling for a brief essay:

You are encountering in x country a few citizens' hostility toward foreigners. Which of these facts can you utilize to establish some rapport? You are an American student, a Southern Baptist, your father is a member of the Ku Klux Klan, and you are writing a novel on the side. (The student is to know that in this host country students and intellectuals are respected.)

(type a) José María lleva una nueva camisa y un mexicano quien no le conoce muy bien le dice, "Qué camisa más bonita." El le diría:

A. "Muchas gracias, es importada."

B. "Muchas gracias, es de mi hermano."

C. "Es la juya."

* D. "Está a sus órdenes."

(type a) La mamá de un amigo de Juan se murió anoche. Al verle a su amigo el día siguiente, Juan probablemente le diría:

- A. "Qué lástima. Me caía bien."
- B. "Ella era una mujer muy buena."
- * C. "Mi más sentido pésame."
- D. "Así es la vida."

(type a) Conflict situation. Un padre español está regañando a su hija de 22 años porque ella fue al cine con su novio a pesar de que el padre le había prohibido salir de la casa. La mamá de la señorita, para proteger a la hija, dice:

- * A. "Ella no fue al cine. Yo le mandé adonde la costurera."
- B. "Ella ya es de edad. Puede hacer lo que quiera."
- C. "Ella es muy religiosa. Podemos confiar en su prudencia."
- D. "No tengas pena. Mariá, la hermana del novio, fue al cine con ellos."

2. The ability to describe, or to ascribe to the proper part of the population (age group, sex, social class or region), a pattern in the culture or social behavior.

(type a) Which region of France is reputed for its warm, friendly, talkative inhabitants?

- A. Le Nord
- * B. Le Midi
- C. Le Massif Central
- D. La Bretagne

(type a) Which one of the following endings to a letter would a French woman *not* use? "Croyez, Madame, a l'expression de

- A. mes sentiments les meilleurs."
- B. mes sentimen's distingués."
- C. mes respectueux hommages."

(type aa) Multiple-choice question asking the student to match with a given meaning one of several culture-related intonation patterns presented in a tape recording.

(type ad) Multiple-choice calling for selection of the gesture, from among several pictured, which corresponds to a given meaning.

(type a) Un señor, bien vestido, ve a un amigo suyo y le saluda, diciendo "Hola che, venite conmigo a tomar un café." Con toda probabilidad el señor es de

- A. Cuba
- B. Italia
- * C. Argentina
- D. Puerto Rico

(type a) Un señor descalzo lleva muchas tinajas sobre su espalda al mercado para venderlas. A qué sector de la población pertenece este señor?

- A. obrero
- B. la clase media
- * C. indígena (indio)
- D. industrial

(type ad) It would strengthen the item to present a picture or drawing of the man in lieu of the first sentence in type a above."

3. The ability to recognize a pattern when it is illustrated. This includes the ability to select from a context the theme expressions that will be emotionally charged for a culture bearer.

(type ba) Close procedure: a literary text or news item (or telegram or partly legible handwriting) is presented, with blanks or scrawls replacing some words or phrases which the examinee will be able to fill in if he is familiar with the aspect of the culture or of the language that is illustrated.

(type c) An essay question, asking the student to point out the themes of the culture that he finds manifested in a given passage, or in a work or historical event he has studied.

(type ac) El profesor se puso a leer un libro con un cuchillo en la mano. ¿Para qué sirvió el cuchillo?

- A. pelar un banano
- * B. abrir las páginas
- C. suicidarse
- D. (ninguna de las arriba mencionadas)

4. The ability to "explain" a pattern, casually or by relating it functionally to other patterns; the resulting realization that each pattern makes sense only as part of a whole.

(type a) Multiple-choice: A likely reason why the French shake hands more than Americans do is:

- A. They like to hold hands.
- * B. They consider it courteous to pay full attention to one person at a time.

- C. They are effusive, demonstrative about greeting and leave-taking.
- D. They have a superstitious fear of bad luck.
- (type c) An essay question: What are some main probable reasons for the age at which compulsory schooling terminates for adolescents of x country? (The expected answer would deal with the scarce economy of the nation, relative values as evidenced by national expenditures in other fields, the history and current change in attitudes toward the importance of educating the less privileged.)
- (type c) An essay question: Show concisely—if true—that the French cultural value of *l'art de vivre* is influenced by other values in the system, considering at least (a) *l'individualisme*, (b) *l'intellectualité*, (c) *le réalisme*, (d) *la patrie*.
- (type a) Si en un país determinado de Latinoamérica el gobierno prohibiera el ingreso de capital norteamericano para el desarrollo de la industria petrolera, la reacción más esperada entre el sector estudiantil sería
- A. tristeza por el porvenir económico
 - * B. exaltación por motivos nacionalistas
 - C. indiferencia
 - D. demostraciones contra el gobierno
5. The ability to predict how a pattern is likely to apply in a given situation.
- (type c) In the foreign society, would you expect a college acquaintance of four months to invite you to his home? Why?
- (type a) If students in France revolt, workers will tend strongly to regard them as
- A. Brothers, fellow proletarians.
 - * B. Children of an alien bourgeois.
 - C. A pathetic group in need of help.
- (type a) Two middle-class Frenchmen are arguing heatedly across a cafe table. They gesticulate with increasing emotion. How may you expect the tension to end?
- A. They are probably drunk and capable of any sort of violence.
 - B. They are probably insulting each other's honor and will be lifelong enemies.
 - * C. They will probably grow calm as they turn to another subject.
6. The ability to describe or to manifest an attitude important for making one acceptable in the foreign society, or considered by the examiner to be enlightened. (Attitude change is tested by using at a later time the same or an equivalent test.)
- (type a) The attitude test which asks 'what you think a person ought to do' in a given situation.
- (type d) A dialogue in a simulated situation, or an interview such as those devised by William Stewart, between an American and a "contrast-American": the examinee is given an objective to pursue, and the interlocutor, representing values, assumptions, and proprieties of the foreign culture, meets any violation of these with a negative reaction. (See Roger DeCrow, *Cross Cultural Interaction Skills*, Chicago: Clearinghouse on Adult Education, 107 Roney Lane, Syracuse, N. Y. 13210, 1969, items 39-42.) This technique, while expensive for testing just the understanding of how to behave in the culture, can be used to test the emotional capability of the student if no more economical test can be found.
- (type a) En una discusión con unos estudiantes latinoamericanos, un joven norteamericano es severamente criticado por la vida en los EE. UU. Un estudiante le pregunta, "¿Porqué toleran tanto racismo los gringo?" ¿Cuál sería la mejor respuesta?
- A. "Claro que tenemos problemas pero tenemos el nivel más alto de vida en el mundo."
 - * B. "Si, es un gran problema que se está luchando por resolver."
 - C. "Ley y Orden son las bases en que descansa una sociedad democrática. Además, actualmente existe poco racismo."
 - D. "Los latinoamericanos tienen el problema del indio y del pobre."

7. The ability to evaluate the form of a statement concerning a culture pattern, e.g., to distinguish a "modal" statement, of terms of a *range* of behavior, from an "absolute" statement in terms of a *point* on the continuum of possible behaviors; and to identify and criticize the standard of evidence used in preparing such a statement. At the elementary school level, this ability can take the rudimentary form of recognizing, for example, the difference between counting cases and just guessing.

(type c) True-false question with comment: 'The following generalization is based on indication of the statistical facts or the information-gathering process used. The evidence is or is not adequate basis for the statement because . . .'

(type c) Multiple-choice with comment: 'Which form of statement is preferable? Why?'

(type ac) Para poder decir que los miembros de una cultura de habla española son o tristes o felices, ¿cuál dato sería más importante?

- A. la cantidad de trajes típicos coloridos
- B. la calidad de literatura no trágica
- C. la frecuencia de fiestas

* D. (ninguna de las arriba mencionadas)

8. The ability to describe or demonstrate defensible methods of analyzing a sociocultural whole. Where the foreign-language and social-science sequences are well co-ordinated, this educational objective may be treated as a responsibility for the social-science instruction. This includes the ability to prescribe a research procedure for developing a needed generalization.

(type c) How would you find, e.g., whether the pattern of paternal authority is changing in the Spanish middle-class family? (The expected answer would show awareness of (a) the problem of defining "authority" and "middle class," (b) the concern for an adequate sample, and (c) some plan for gathering comparable evidence as of at least two points in time.

(type a) Para poder identificar los estudios que enfocan un aspecto de la cultura latinoamericana, ¿cuál publicación sería más útil?

- A. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*
- B. *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*

C. *Latin American Review*

* D. *Handbook of Latin American Studies*

(type ac) Los datos adquieren importancia según los intereses del investigador. La información de que en Guatemala 48% de la población habla español tendría interés especial para un investigador.

- A. de la literatura
- B. del arte

* C. del programa de alfabetización

D. (igual interés para las arriba mencionadas)

9. The ability to identify basic human purposes that make significant the understanding which is being taught. (The answers we give are often less enduring and less important than the questions we select to ask. What distinguishes the really educated person is not that he knows all the answers, but that he occupies his mind with significant questions. Intellectual curiosity should be a continuing aim of education at all ages. At the elementary school level, the teacher doubtless can only make it felt by implicit teaching that he prefers an exciting inquiry to the trivial and banal. The *testing* that relates to this objective may be left until a later age level.)

(type c) A question calling for a brief but premeditated statement: 'What good can it do to know the range of Mexican attitudes toward public support of secondary schools?—What good, from the viewpoint of

- A. A Mexican political leader.
- B. A foreign investor in Mexican industry.
- C. A person with a humanitarian concern for the underprivileged.

Concerning the problems of validating such test questions as have been suggested here, and of assuring the reliability of a set of questions, informed discussions and bibliographies will be found in Emma Marie Birkmaier, editor, *The Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education*, Vol. 1, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968 (Nov. 1969). See particularly the chapters by Rebecca Valette, "Testing," pp. 343-374, and H. Ned Seelye, "Analysis and teaching of the cross-cultural context," pp. 37-81.

Continuous updating will be facilitated by the annual ACTFL Bibliography published in May in *Foreign Language Annals*.

A SELECTED, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON LATIN AMERICA *

Annotators:

Gilbert D. Bartell
C. Daniel Dillman
Roland T. Ely
Edward W. Glab, Jr.
Roderick T. Groves
Jorge Armando Gutiérrez Padilla
Benjamin Keen
Joseph A. Martellaro
E. Craig Morris
Rosendo R. Rivera
Peter A. Roman
Anthony Scaperlanda
H. Ned Seelye
Margaret G. Smith
A. Manuel Vázquez-Bigi
Charles R. Wicke

The core of this bibliography was developed in the following manner: a dozen Latin American specialists, representing six different disciplines, were asked to choose the ten sources they thought central to a study of Latin America. Duplications were resolved and several other Latin Americanists were invited to review publications, usually in a specific area. In an effort to avoid unnecessary duplication of other handbooks and published guides for teachers, the annotators were asked to give priority to recent publications and to avoid including pre-1960 entries whenever feasible. The opinions expressed in the annotations are the responsibility of the specialist whose name appears in parenthesis at the end of the review. The "see also" entries were usually interpolated by the editor and do not necessarily carry the approbation of the signed annotator. Diversity of opinion among annotators was encouraged. For example, some of the annotators preferred books which view the future of social justice and political stability in Latin America rather optimistically (usually citing Vene-

* From H. Ned Seelye, ed., *A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers*. Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1968, pp. 44-74.

zuela, Puerto Rico, and Mexico as examples), while others were partial to the eve-of-revolution school of interpretation.

At the time this chapter was prepared all of the annotators except for Sister Margaret Smith (Maryville College, St. Louis) were members of the faculty of Northern Illinois University DeKalb.

A partial bibliographical index organized under six major categories can be found in the latter part of chapter seven, "Pertinency in Latin American Studies," of this book. The full names of the publishers cited herein and their addresses are provided at the end of the bibliography.

Abt (see Scott 1966)

Adams, Richard N., J. P. Gillin, A. R. Holmberg, O. Lewis, R. W. Patch, and C. Wagley. *Social Change in Latin America Today: Its Implications for United States Policy*. Vintage, 1961: 353 pp., \$1.45. Index.

An outgrowth of efforts to ascertain in what manner political analysts and policy-makers can best utilize recent findings of anthropologists on social change. Contains a lengthy introduction. (Dillman)

Alameda County School Department. *Cultural Understanding: Spanish Level I: Selected Cultural Concepts Which May Be Developed in Spanish Level I: Special Reference to Three Texts*. Hayward, California: Alameda County School Department, 1969. \$2.50.

An exceptionally useful, illustrated aid to teaching culture in Spanish classes. (Seelye)

Alba, Víctor. *The Mexicans: The Making of a Nation*. Praeger, 1967; 268 pp., \$6.95. Index.

An excellent, readable account of the social and political struggles which give Mexico its present character. (Seelye)

Alba, Víctor. *Nationalists Without Nations: The Oligarchy Versus the People in Latin America*. Praeger, 1968; 248 pp., \$7.00. Bibliography, index.

This engaging tract argues that the back of the stifling oligarchies must be broken for the area to achieve "nationhood," but rejects communism as a means to accomplish it. Claims the current nationalism based on systematic anti-Yankeeism is an obstacle to progress. Sees hope in some of the populist movements, those who believe there never has been any democracy in Latin America and that "democracy is precisely what needs to be tried" (p. 216). (Seelye)

Anderson, R. J. *Politics and Change in Latin America*. Van Nostrand, 1967; 388 pp., \$4.95. Notes, index.

A study of economic and social revolution. Ferrets out

some of the pertinent political influences which are determinants of economic policy. Rejects—and correctly so—the popular rationale which calls for a drastic metamorphosis of present-day Latin institutions in order to achieve economic development and growth. Instead, pragmatically suggests the possibility of economic revolution taking place within the framework of the present-day Latin societies by combining political institutions and scientific technology imported from abroad with native imagination and resources. See also: Schmitt, K. M., and D. D. Burks. *Evolution or Chaos: Dynamics of Latin American Government and Politics*. Praeger, 1963; 308 pp., \$2.50. (Martellaro)

Andreski (see Burnett)

Alexander, R. J. (see also: Martellaro)

Alexander, R. J. *Communism in Latin America*. Rutgers U. P., 1957; \$9.00. Bibliography, index.

This largely historical treatment was written before the Cuban revolution and, consequently, is today somewhat dated. Nonetheless, its description of "traditionalist" communism is useful in understanding the rivalries and animosities that today exist between the Fidelistas and the "old-line" Communist parties. Alexander's major thesis, that indigenous political movements of the democratic left represent the major obstacle to communism, retains much of its currency today. (Groves)

Alexander, R. J. *Today's Latin America*. Anchor, second Rev. ed., 1968; 261 pp., \$6.00. Bibliography, index.

A concise, balanced survey of the many and varied aspects of Latin life, written by an historian. (Glab)

Alexander, R. J. *Prophets of the Revolution*. Macmillan, 1962; \$4.95. Bibliography, index.

Viewing the achievements of statesmen in other nations of the world, the student will probably conclude that there is a great deficiency of them in Latin America. But Latin America has had great leaders who have had a lasting impact on the area. Presents a series of biographical sketches of some of the most influential political figures of recent Latin American history. While not a substitute for studies of real depth, provides an ideal introduction for students concerned with leadership as a general need. Gives greatest emphasis to political figures of the democratic left (Cárdenas, Betancourt, Haya de la Torre, Figueres, etc.), but it also includes Fidel Castro, Getulio Vargas, Juan Perón and Arturo Alessandri. (Groves)

Alexander, R. J. *The Venezuelan Democratic Revolution: A Profile of the Regime of Rómulo Betancourt*. Rutgers U. P., 1964; \$9.00. Bibliography, index.

Describes and evaluates the achievements of and challenges to the epochal regime of Betancourt by one of his

admirers. The transformation of Venezuelan political life under this government from the traditional militarism and dictatorship to a popular-based, participant democracy has made this era extraordinarily influential in Latin America. (Groves)

Arciniegas, Germán (McVicker and Soto, eds.). *Latinoamérica: el continente de siete colores*. Harcourt, 1967; 315 pp., \$6.50. Suplemento cronológico, vocabulario.

An historical, literary, and cultural survey by a Colombian. The 18 chapters offer too much information and not enough concepts. Lots of engaging photos but no exercises; suitable for the 3rd year secondary or college student. The author's opinions (sometimes facetious) lend themselves to discussion ("Matthews, en misión de periodista en Cuba, descubrió un día que Castro estaba vivo, cuando todos lo creían muerto. El entusiasmo que le produjo el descubrimiento le hizo, para siempre, castrista" [p. 263-41]).

A paperback by the same publisher and editors (*Temas de Arciniegas: invitación a conversar, leer y escribir*, 1967; \$3.50) presents brief essays about this hemisphere, followed by drills and exercises; not illustrated. (Seelye)

Asturias, Miguel Angel (tr. by Partridge) *El Señor Presidente*. Atheneum, 1963; 287 pp., \$5.00.

Asturias has written of the legend and poetry of the Guatemalan Indian, for which he is savored in intellectual circles, and also has written 5 novels of social protest, for which he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature (1967)

This English translation of his first and best protest novel restores the original Spanish title in this 1967 printing (the earlier English editions called it *The President*). Historically the first Latin American novel to use terror as a central motif, the translation offers a poignant experience of life—and death—under dictatorship. The translator has abbreviated some of the tiresome sound reduplication of the original and offers English equivalents to the nicknames. This English version, unlike the difficult Spanish, can be recommended to students.

Asturias' other protest novels are published in Spanish by Editorial Losada (Buenos Aires): *Weekend en Guatemala*, a protest of the U.S. intervention of 1954; and the anti-imperialistic trilogy, *Viento fuerte*, *El papa verde*, and *Los ojos de los enterrados*, which attacks the United Fruit Co. operations in Guatemala. (Seelye)

Augelli, J. P. *The Controversial Image of Latin America: A Geographer's View*. Professional Paper No. 24. Published by the National Council for Geographic Education, March, 1963; 10 pp., 25 cents. Map. Available from: Publication Center of the National Council for Geographic Education, Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois.)

Demonstrates that accurate teaching of the cultural complexities can be achieved only if the myths that warp the popular image of this vast area are debunked. The most disturbing of the myths are: (1) uniformity and homogeneity mistakenly associated with Latin American cultures, and (2) stigma of environmental impossibility frequently given to much of the area's climate and land surface. Because national boundaries seldom define territories possessing uniformity in patterns and problems of resource use and other cultural phenomena, a more realistic image would be expressed by five cultural complexes. Proposes division of South America into generalized culture spheres disregarding existing territorial borders. The culture spheres are: (1) European-Commercial, (2) Tropical Plantation, (3) Indo-Subsistence, (4) Mestizo-Transitional, and (5) Undifferentiated. See also: West, R. C., and J. P. Augelli. *Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples* (Prentice-Hall, 1966; 482 pp.). (Dillman)

Balassa (see Dell)

Barager, Joseph R. *Why Perón Came to Power*. Knopf, 1968; 271 pp., \$2.75. Bibliography.

Makes a scholarly analysis of the various conditions which paved the way to the rise of one of Latin America's most powerful dictators. Does not ignore the circumstances on the eve of Perón's takeover which significantly played a role in the dictator's successful bid for power, but also delves far back into Argentine history for those influences which meaningfully contributed to his seizure of power. To accomplish this, Barager utilizes writings of Domingo Sarmiento, Ricardo Levene, James Scobie, etc. (Martellaro)

Bayitch, S. A. (ed.). *Latin America and the Caribbean: A Bibliography of Works in English*. Oceana, 1967; 943 pp., \$30.00. Index.

Most complete bibliography of its type; not annotated; "... selection of topics favors ... those dealing with economic, legal, and political matters. ..." More suitable for college rather than secondary reference. (Seelye)

Benham, F., and H. A. Holley. *A Short Introduction to the Economy of Latin America*. Oxford U. P., 1964; 189 pp., \$4.00. Bibliography, index.

Both a descriptive survey of the region's resources, industrial progress, chronic inflation, and international trade role and a consideration of specific cases (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela). An excellent introduction and a good door-opener to other books in the Oxford series which focus upon individual countries, e.g., *Argentina* by Pendle, *Bolivia* by Osborne, Lilo Linke's *Ecuador*, Owens' *Peru*, and Cline's *Mexico*. (Martellaro)

Benjamin, H. R. *Higher Education in the American Republics*. McGraw-Hill, 1965; 224 pp., \$8.00. Index.

Good introduction to problems in comparative case studies of representative countries. See also: *Comparative Education Review* (monthly), 525 West 120th St., N. Y., N. Y. 10027; Kazamias, A. M., and E. H. Epstein. *Schools in Transition: Essays in Comparative Education* (Allyn, 1968; 421 pp., Bibliography, index). Also the following 3 occasional publications from The Center of Latin American Studies, U. of Kansas, Lawrence: *Viewpoints on Education and Social Change in Latin America* (No. 5, 1965); Mitchell, W. H. *CSUCA: A Regional Strategy for Higher Education in Central America* (No. 7, 1967); Sánchez, L. A., and I. Barrientos. *La formación del estudiante universitario* (No. 11, 1968). (Gutiérrez)

Bernstein, M. D. (ed.). *Foreign Investment in Latin America*. Knopf, 1966; 305 pp., \$2.50.

Contributions by a number of leading authorities (such as H. A. Ferns, John F. Gallagher, and Dean Rusk). Consists of a composite of case studies of foreign investments. Offers insight into the economic, political, and social impact of foreign investment and a better understanding of the basis of the conflicting attitudes of Latin people vis á vis foreign investors and the nations they represent. (Martellaro)

Bierck (see Pendle 1963)

Boorstein (see Zeitlin 1963)

Boxer, C. R. *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1675-1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society*. U. of Calif. P., 1962; \$8.50.

An illuminating survey by an English historian who has made the study of the Portuguese colonial empire his life-work. (Keen)

Brand, D. D. *Mexico: Land of Sunshine and Shadow*. Van Nostrand, 1966; 159 pp., \$1.75. Selected bibliography, index, 5 maps.

Not only captures the diversity that is the geography of Mexico, but provokes further exploration of other works on the individual topics presented. "Because most people in the United States tend to form their opinion of Latin America in terms of . . . Mexico," initial study of the country might well begin with this work. Use of an atlas is indispensable for identification of the welter of places mentioned. Land, people, and history are treated with affection by one who has studied Mexico for 40 years; result is an incisive understanding of the nature of Mexico and its problems. (Dillman)

Burger, Henry G. *Ethno-Pedagogy: A Manual in Cultural Sensitivity, with Techniques for Improving Cross-Cultural Teaching by Fitting Ethnic Patterns*. (Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, N. M.), 1968. Order from: NCR, 4936 Fairmont Ave., Bethesda, Md. ERIC Docu-

ment SP-001-971; MF-\$1.25; HC-\$15.80. 296 pp. Bibliography.

Outlines and contrasts, in part, some of the basic values of the Yankee and the Mexican in an effort to increase the sensitivity of the Anglo teacher and to facilitate cross-cultural communication. (Seelye)

Burnett, B. G., and K. F. Johnson (eds.). *Political Forces in Latin America: Dimensions of the Quest for Stability*. Wadsworth, 1968; 587 pp. Bibliography, index.

Each chapter deals with a geographic area. Excellent 12-page review of the stability-instability continuum (p. 511). See also: Andreski, S. *Parasitism and Subversion: The Case of Latin America*. Random, 1966; 303 pp., \$5.95. Index (Seelye)

Burns (see Wagley 1963)

Burr, R. N. *Our Troubled Hemisphere: Perspectives on United States-Latin American Relations*. Brookings Inst., 1967; 256 pp., \$6.75. Bibliography, index.

Views inter-American relations as an extremely complex area where "adjustment[s] in power relationships . . . affect many sectors whose relationship to the original problem may have been but dimly perceived if at all. . . [T]he problems in United States-Latin American relations assume an essentially political solution" (p. 228). Feels that the United States will have to abandon coercion in favor of winning "the support of weaker nations by reconciling their interests with those of the United States . . . [through] . . . painstaking arrangements, discussions, and compromises . . ." (p. 230).

Presents a "rightist" American view of solutions; but sees the problems well. Some would say Burr offers a hard-headed, practical view of the complex problems of Latin America; others might criticize his optimism founded on an American model of compromise. Believes the United States should manipulate "progress" in Latin America (cf. 234-6). See also: Wood, B. *The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy* (Norton, 1961; 438 pp., \$2.45. Bibliographic notes, index); and Augelli, J. P. (ed.). *The Community in Revolutionary Latin America* (U. of Kansas: Center of Latin American Studies, 1964; 36 pp.); Rodgers, W. D. *The Twilight Struggle: The Alliance for Progress and The Politics of Development in Latin America* (Random, 1967; 301 pp., \$6.95. Index). (Seelye)

Bushnell, G. H. S. *Peru*. Praeger, 1957; 13.45. Charts, photographs, line drawings.

A conspectus of the whole of Peruvian history, summarizing all that is known about prehistoric Peru, from the first hunting culture, thousands of years B.C., to the Inca empire conquered by the Spanish. (Bartell)

Castro, Americo. *Iberoamerica*. Holt, 1954; 322 pp., \$5.60. Vocabulary.

Well-illustrated, overly-ambitious historical reader designed for intermediate or advanced Spanish classes with no previous knowledge of area. A very superficial description and appraisal of the history and culture of all the countries of Latin America. For example, Brazil is discovered, invaded, subdued, given independence, and has her racial problems, religious, economic, and political life, natural resources and fine arts exposed in twenty pages—all this with photographs included. Final chapter is on Hispanic-American culture, which is Castro's synonym for literature. (Rivera)

Chang-Rodríguez, E., and H. Kantor. *La América Latina de hoy*. Ronald, 1961; 366 pp., \$4.50.

Designed as background for classes in 3rd year conversational Spanish. Consists of essays, speeches, and documents with questions by the editors following each selection. Readings treat topics such as disarmament, land reform, continental unification, and other cultural and political commentaries common to most of area. Writings of educators, authors, and statesmen (including 3 ex-presidents) offer a contemporary view. A rubric, written in English, introduces each author and subject. (Rivera)

Chevalier, Francois. (tr. by Eustis; ed. by L. B. Simpson). *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda*. U. of Calif. P., 1963; \$8.50.

A model study of one of the most important of colonial institutions by a French scholar who combines great learning with lightness of touch. (Keen)

Cieza de León, Pedro de. *The Incas of Pedro de Cieza de León*. U. of Oklahoma P., 1959, \$5.95. Index.

Written by perhaps the most sensitive and accurate of the Spanish chroniclers who wrote about Peru when its native life was still intact. This translation is both faithful to the original and pleasant to read. A firsthand account and one of the best in print; its relatively light narrative style makes it as useful to the student as to the professional historian or anthropologist. Von Hagen's extensive rearrangement of the original texts to form a single and continuous story is logical. His footnotes, however distract. (Morris)

Cline (see Benham)

Clissold, S. *Latin America: A Cultural Outline*. Harper, 1965; 160 pp., \$1.45. Index.

Discusses topics such as "the Aztec and the Inca outlook on life and the violent impact of Spanish and Portuguese civilization, to the achievements of the colonial period and the emergence of the distinctive and sometimes consciously *mestizo* culture of the modern republics," from the point

of view of the pensadores. Asks acute, perceptive questions, and quotes freely from Latin American intellectuals. Divided into four sections: The Indian Mind, The Spanish Imprint, A Mind in the Making, and Brazil. Bibliography lists 32 works of Latin American literature appearing in English translation. The author says many engaging things. (For instance: "To be anti-American seems to be the hallmark of most Latin Americans today, as being anti-Spanish was the hallmark of an earlier generation" [p. 11-12]).

Students interested in the literature of intellectual history of Latin America would find this paperback to be a cultural approach to the subject. (Seelye)

Coe, M. D. *Mexico*. Praeger, 1962, \$3.45. Brief bibliography, maps, charts, drawings, photographs.

A distinguished archaeologist has given us a brief, authoritative survey of Mexican archaeology from the late Pleistocene to the coming of the Spanish. Carefully covers the early cultures and the rise of the great civilizations. See also: Coe. *The Maya* (Praeger, 1966; 252 p., \$3.45. Illustrated, index). (Bartell)

Columbus, Christopher. *Four Voyages to the New World*. Citadel, 1961; 240 pp., \$1.75. Index.

A reprint of one published a century ago, with the addition of an excellent six-page introduction by John Fagg. This pocket edition is bilingual (Latin and English for the first voyage; Spanish and English for the other three), with the English occupying the top half of each page. The print is rather small, and the edition not too attractive. (Seelye)

Comparative Education Review (see Benjamin 1965)

Condorito No. 15, Santiago de Chile: Editora Zig-Zag (Distributed by Extracurricular Programs, University Station, Provo, Utah), 1965. (\$1.00). *Notas y ejercicios* (\$1.25); *Vocabulario* (25 cents); *Libreto correspondiente a ejercicios orales* (25 cents); Tapes (\$30.00).

The basic unit is the first mentioned above, which is a comic book worthy of the attention of Spanish teachers of intermediate and advanced sections. Probably the best way to use the set is in a language laboratory or in the classroom with a tape recorder in front of the class. The students follow the taped sequence, then refer to the *Notas* to do the exercises. The *Libreto* contains the taped script and can be used as reinforcement after the work has once been done in class. The *Vocabulario* is a duplication of the glossary at the end of *Notas* and can be dispensed with.

Condorito presents a number of cultural advantages: (1) the speech and accompanying drawing are authentic, (2) while the humor is Latin, American students have no trouble "getting" it, (3) through the use of "vos" and local idioms, the student is drawn into greater appreciation of dialectical

differences, (4) sections can be skipped without injury to the student's future success. Then, too, the fact that the materials are obviously Chilean—and very few of us can pretend to know much about Chile—allows the teacher to relax into the role of student: he can not be expected to know all of the modismos, etc. This reviewer has used Condorito on the second- and third-year college levels and found the students especially enthusiastic on the second level. (Seelye)

Connell-Smith G. *The Inter-American System*. Oxford U. P., 1966; 376 pp., \$8.75. Bibliography, index.

The best book that has been published on the Inter-American system (OAS) in recent years. Part is a well-balanced historical review of the system as it has evolved; the remainder is a discussion of its activities and structures and the uses to which they have been put. The author makes short shrift of the usual platitudes and partial truths that have been used to defend the system, but at the same time is fair in giving credit for its real achievements and potentialities. (Groves)

Considine, J. J. (ed.): *The Religious Dimension in the New Latin America*. CICOP, 1966; 238 pp., \$2.95. Index.

Third in a series of studies by Catholic scholars. The other two, also edited by Fr. Considine: *Social Revolution in the New Latin America: A Catholic Appraisal* (1965); *The Church in the New Latin America* (1964). See also Shapiro 1967 (below). (Seelye)

Covarrubias, Miguel. *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America*. Knopf, 1957; \$17.50.

Ancient regional cultures are described in terms of the great art styles they produced. The author was one of Mexico's great muralists as well as a student of anthropology. Thus the artist's feeling for style and problems of execution are combined with the objectivity and cultural relativism of the anthropologist in Covarrubias' study. The illustrations by the author are magnificent. (Wicke)

Crawford, R. W. *A Century of Latin American Thought*. Rev. ed., Praeger, 1961; 322 pp., \$2.50. Bibliography, index.

A classic dealing with intellectual history from emancipation to the Mexican Revolution. Among the figures treated are: Echeverría, Alberdi, Sarmiento (on the subject of independence and nationhood); Bello, Lastarria, and Bilbao (from the generation of 1942 and after); José E. Rodó, and Vaz Ferreira (representing a reactionary wave); Montalbo, González Prada, and María Tegul (representing the rebellious spirit of fighters for justice and liberty); Brazilian thinkers such as Da Cunha, Manuel Bomfim, and Freyre, and Mexican thinkers such as Mora, Ramírez, Vasconcelos, and Ramos are also represented. (Gutiérrez)

Crow, A. *Spanish American Life*. Rev. ed., Holt, 1963; 294 pp., \$5.80. Vocabulary, maps.

Illustrated reader for first-year Spanish classes. A general introduction into each country of Latin America along with a superficial view of the spirit and customs of the Spanish American people. Many of the selections are taken from works by native authors, e.g., Darío, Palma, and Quiroga. Reading aids, exercises and tapes for each chapter facilitate use of the text. (Rivera)

Current History. Current History Inc.: 95 cents per copy.

This monthly usually devotes one of its twelve annual issues to Latin America. Recommended for students who already know something of Latin America. (Glab)

Da Cunha, Euclides (tr. by Putnam). *Rebellion in the Backlands (Os Sertões)*. U. of Chicago P., 1944; 532 pp., \$2.95. Bibliography, glossary, index.

Deals with the Brazilian peasant resistance of 1896-97. Part One is a detailed description of the land and the man of Northeastern Brazil. Part Two consists of the rise of Antonio Conselheiro (leader of the rebels) and the reasons for his great success. The author links the propensity for fanaticism and rebellion with biology. This book, which has been compared with T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, is very interesting and readable but limited by the author's oversimplified view of race and resistance. (Rivera)

Debray, Régis. *Revolution in the Revolution?* Grove, 1967; 126 pp., 95 cents.

Debray, the French journalist now in jail in Bolivia, has written a defense of guerrilla warfare as the means to achieve successful revolution in Latin America. He dismisses the more classic means of violent revolution, i.e., proletarian revolt in the cities led by a bolshevik-type party, as largely irrelevant in Latin America. The revolution does not require a party (especially not an urban-based or urban-directed party), nor extensive political work—support for the revolutionaries will come from the peasants in the armed struggle itself. For a provocative review of the problem of counter-insurgency research and the social scientist, see: Horowitz, I. L. (ed.). *The Decline and Fall of Project Camelot* (M.I.T., 1967; 385 pp., \$3.95. Index). (Roman)

Dell, S. A. *Latin American Common Market?* Oxford U. P., 1966, 336 pp., \$10.00. Bibliography, index.

After developing the case for the necessity of integration, examines the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) and the Central American Common Market. The present problems of the LAFTA, the problems of transport and communications, the problems of special dispensations for the least developed member nations, the connection between integration and economic planning, the problems

resulting from reciprocity requirements and the lack of a regional payments union are considered in sequence. Concludes by evaluating the role of foreign enterprises and the attitudes of nationalism and continentalism in the integration process.

Offers an objective, lucid, comprehensive analysis of economic integration. See also: Scaperlanda, "Economic Integration, Institutional Change, and Economic Development," *Duquesne Review* 11 (1), Spring 1966, 65-73; Mitchell, C. "Common Market: The Future of a Commitment: Punta del Este and After," *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 21 (3), Winter 1967, 73-87; Balassa, Bela. *Economic Development and Integration* (Mexico, D. F.: Centro de Estudios Monetarios Latinoamericanos, 1965; 157 pp.). (Scaperlanda)

del Río, Angel. *Clash and Attraction of Two Cultures: The Anglo-Saxon Worlds in America*. Louisiana State U. P., 1965; 127 pp., \$5.00.

Examines historical relation of Anglo-Saxon world with Spanish colonial empire, then studies how the Spanish Americans see the U.S.—a reality totally separated from the old vision such as in Rodó's *Ariel*. For del Río, there are presently no basic discrepancies between the conceptions of the world and man in the English and Spanish sides of America; the differences lie in resources and the way they have been developed. (Vázquez-Bigi)

Denton, C. F. "Interest Groups in Panama and the Central American Common Market," *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 21 (1), (Summer 1967), 49-60.

Economic integration cannot occur in a vacuum. National pressure groups must exist to influence national policy to the extent a nation becomes involved in such multi-national schemes. Analyzes the various pressure groups in Panama, which has yet to join either of the Latin American economic integration efforts, suggesting the internal changes required if Panama is to become a participant in either of the Latin American economic integration organizations. (Scaperlanda)

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico (1517-1521)* Noonday, 1956; 478 pp., \$2.95. Index.

Eminently readable account of Cortes' adventuresome conquest told by one of the soldiers who accompanied him through the whole campaign. Has relatively large type and is generally pleasant, but not illustrated. (Seelye)

Diéguez Júnior, Manuel, and B. Wood (eds.). *Social Science in Latin America*. Columbia U. P., 1967; 335 pp., \$4.50. Chapter bibliographies.

Excellent recent review written by Latin Americans. For an earlier review written by North American social scientists, see Wagley, C. (ed.). *Social Science Research on Latin America* (Columbia U. P., 1964; 333 pp.). (Seelye)

Disseihoff, H. D., and S. Linne. *The Art of Ancient America*. Crown, 1961; \$6.95.

When the Spaniards arrived in the Western hemisphere they found cities of great splendor and civilization that in some respects outstripped their own. The sacked ruins have been rediscovered by archaeologists in recent times and their splendid art brought to the attention of the world. Describes the broad historical, sociological and religious backgrounds of the cultures which produced these art works and includes 60 striking color plates of the work itself. (Bartell)

Di Tella, Torcuato S., et al. *Argentina, sociedad de masas*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria (EUDEBA), 1965; 287 pp. \$4.00.

An excellent, highly technical though readable work for anyone wishing to advance in the study of Argentine history, sociology, and economics, after reading works like the ones by Whitaker and Scobie, annotated in this bibliography.

These studies, and others which have been appearing in great numbers in Argentina lately, import a healthy reaction against the romantic orientation of essayists earlier in this century and a return—with up-to-date scholarly methods and style—to the positivistic attitudes of two and three generations ago eminently represented by sociologists such as José Ingenieros and Raúl Orgaz. (Vázquez-Bigi)

Dozer, D. M. (ed.). *The Monroe Doctrine: its Modern Significance*. Knopf, 1965; 208 pp., \$2.50. Bibliography.

Anthology of articles, speeches, editorials, and statements of official policy, as well as excerpts from 1962 Senate debate on Cuban missile crisis, preceded by editor's own 35-page introductory survey of Monroe Doctrine from 1823 to 1962. Throughout 26 selections, succeeds in presenting major interpretations of the Doctrine and principal attitudes toward it throughout the Americas, Europe and Asia. See also: Perkins, D. *Monroe Doctrine*. 3 vol: (1823-1826; 1826-1867; 1867-1907), published between 1927 and 1937. (Smith, \$4.50; \$8.00; \$7.00.) (Ely)

Draper (see Zeitlin 1963)

Englekirk, J. E., et al (eds.). *An Anthology of Spanish American Literature*. Rev. ed., Appleton, 1968; 864 pp., \$8.95.

This title is included among works devoted to cultural themes for the following reasons: it is the literary anthology best suited for a study of the cultures of different zones and their historical development; a sizable portion deals with the important field of Latin-American essay—sociological, historical, political—with names like Sarmiento (*Facundo*), Martí (*Nuestra América*), Rodó (*Ariel*), Vasconcelos (*La*

raza cósmica). Even if their ideas are not always based on facts, and at times verge on myth, they were influential. A poem like Echeverría's *La cautiva*, for instance, is an excellent lesson in the history and culture of the southern Pampas; book also contains an enlightening analogy to our "Wild West" literature as it was seen by Sarmiento. For a larger treatment of the sociological essay, see Ripoll, Carlos (ed.), *Conciencia intelectual de América* (Las Américas, 1966). (Vázquez-Bigi)

Espinosa, Aurelio M., Jr., R. L. Franklin, and K. A. Mueller. *Cultura conversación y repaso*. Heath, 1967; 325 pp.

Beautifully illustrated and designed for intermediate or advanced Spanish classes, it unfortunately equates culture, for the most part, with literature. About a third of the book concerns itself with Latin America, the rest with Spain. The pedagogical mechanisms ("prácticas orales," "aspectos gramaticales," "ejercicios escritos," etc.) are not designed to emphasize non-literary cultural items. (Seelye)

Ewing, Ethel E. *Latin American Culture*. Rand McNally, 1958, 1958; 65 pp. Index, Pronouncing Vocabulary.

This handsome booklet is a disappointment. Although it offers a brief, simply written panoramic view of Latin America, it is written from a rather naive American point of view: "The United States had abandoned its role of policeman for the hemisphere by 1930 . . ."; "[Latin America's] interest in freedom and law has generally placed them on the side of the United States in the struggle against the Soviet bloc." Many of the photographs are too obviously from official sources (Standard Oil, American Airlines, United Nations, etc.). Although the book's most recent copyright is 1967, it does not show signs of having been brought up to date. (Seelye)

Fagg (see Martin)

Faron (see Lewis 1951)

Farrell, Robert V., John F. Hohenstein, and Karna S. Wilgus, eds. *Latin America: Books for High Schools. An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, (680 Park Avenue), 1969.

This very helpful source annotates 493 books in English about Latin America. A sister listing of 178 materials appropriate for grades K-9 can be obtained from the same address: *Latin America: An Annotated List of Materials for Children* (1969). (Seelye)

Florit, Eugenio, and B. P. Patt. *Retratos de Hispanoamérica*. Holt, 1962; 246 pp., \$5.40.

A reader with studies on archaeology, architecture, plastic arts, and music, and chapters on representative Spanish-American men through the centuries including their

original writings. Has a questionnaire and a vocabulary at the end. "Culture" in most of this book is understood in the connotation of that which is excellent in historical deeds, in the arts, letters, scholarly pursuits, etc. The choice of materials reflect the most typical (if there is such a category) or perhaps frequent or consecrated Latin-American tastes, and the high school teacher with an affinity for the same tastes and attitudes may find in its pages abundant material and inspiration for his classes. (Vázquez-Bigi)

Form and Blum (see Urquidí)

Frank, A. G. *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. Monthly Review, 1967; 298 pp., \$7.50.

Attacks several myths. Argues that the countries are structurally underdeveloped and are getting poorer; that they are poor because the developed nations are rich; that their poverty is not due to any feudalism since all of Latin America is part of the world capitalist system; that the so-called national bourgeoisie is neither dynamic nor independent, but rather a compromised class, dependent financially, politically, and militarily on the U. S.; and that for Latin America to develop it will have to break out of the satellite relationship with the metropolis through a socialist revolution. See also: Magdoff, H. *Economic Aspects of U. S. Imperialism* (Monthly Review, 1966). (Roman)

Freyre, Gilberto. *The Masters and the Slaves*. Knopf, 1966; 432 pp., \$2.95. Extensive glossary of Brazilian, Portuguese, American Indian, and African Negro expressions, including botanical and zoological terms.

Studies the sexual, social and economic behavior of the Portuguese colonizer of tropical northeastern Brazil. Freyre vividly portrays the ever-influential patriarchal system which produced, through miscegenation, the elasticity in the gradual "burring of the color line" and which brought about, relatively speaking, a "balance" between the masters and the slaves, the intellectuals and the illiterates. Freyre's main thesis: that the culture of Brazil emanates from the patriarchal system. Although it is an over-simplification to claim such a vast historical and sociological inheritance from modern Brazil, the colonial traditions are deep-rooted in the psychological makeup of its people, rulers, and main cultural institutions. A sharp criticism of the Freyre-Tannenbaum thesis is available in M. Harris, *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (Walker, 1964; \$1.95). (Gutiérrez)

Fuentes, Carlos (tr. by Hileman). *Where the Air is Clear*. Obolensky, 1960; 376 pp., \$4.95.

This novel, reminiscent of John Dos Passos' *U.S.A.*, attempts to reduce Mexico to 376 pages of mosaics of society from which the reader is to construct an idea of what it means to be a Mexican. The story line follows the rise and

fall of Federico Robles, a fictional composite of a former revolutionary. The author keeps the reader jumping from within the characters to the exterior point at which a new character enters Robles' life. Fuentes places each character in his social niche in terms of what his life means to others. The tone of the novel reflects the anguish and seemingly loss of purpose the Mexicans have felt since the Revolution. This English translation of *La región más transparente* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958), can easily be adopted as supplementary reading in courses other than Spanish literature. (Rivera)

Gibson, C. *The Colonial Period in Latin American History*. Washington, D. C.: Service Center for Teachers of History, Pub. No. 7, 1958; 24 pp., 75 cents. Bibliography.

Guide to recent changes of historical interpretations of period. Prepared primarily for secondary school teachers, it proceeds from general works to such topics as the structure and operation of the Spanish Empire in America, the Black Legend, cultural history, Portuguese Brazil, and the independence movements. (Ely)

Gibson, C. *Spain in America*. Harper, 1966; \$1.95. Annotated bibliography.

A masterful synthesis of the subject, based on the most recent findings, by a scholar who himself has made important contributions to his field. Highly readable, clear. (Keen)

Gil, Federico. *The Political System of Chile*. Houghton Mifflin, 1966; 323 pp., \$2.95. Bibliography, index.

A highly readable study; one of a very few nation studies in the Latin American area devoted to an evaluation of the political system rather than to political history. Written after 1964, it contains an extensive discussion of the electoral outcome of the presidential race of that year and of the Christian Democratic Party. The best part of the book is certainly the chapter on political parties. The Chilean party structure has been influential and has evolved with a great deal of continuity over the years, and as such it has particular importance. (Groves)

Glade, William P. *The Latin American Economies*. American Book Co., 1969; 665 pp., \$8.95. Index, bibliography.

A welcomed addition to the scholarly literature on Latin America. The author effectively utilizes an interdisciplinary approach to explain the evolution of Latin American economies. In so doing he looks to the past in his endeavor to explain what and why the area is what it is today. If institutional economics has a place of practical application, perhaps it makes its greatest contribution in the study of Latin America. (Martellaro)

Gordon, W. C., *The Political Economy of Latin America*. Columbia U. P., 1965; 401 pp. Bibliography, index.

An international economist presents in this his second book on the Latin American economy, a comprehensive, refined, survey of economic behavior and institutions. Included are analyses of private and public market organization; of economic welfare and related activities (social security legislation, labor movement); of economic development industrialization, capital formation; and of trade and finance (foreign exchange, public finance, banking, business cycles).

Unless the concepts contained in the first two chapters which trace the evolution of Latin America's "economic system" are well understood, one is likely to substantially misjudge contemporary events. (Scaperlanda)

Green, Jerald R. *A Gesture Inventory for the Teaching of Spanish*. Chilton, 1968; \$5.00. Bibliography.

An illustrated inventory of peninsular gestures, accompanied by absorbing narratives. (Seelye)

Guevara, Ernesto "Che". *Guerrilla Warfare*. Monthly Review; \$3.50.

_____. *Che Guevara Speaks*. Merit, 1967; 159 pp. \$1.95.

_____. *Che Guevara on Guerrilla Warfare* (ed. by H. C. Peterson). Praeger, 1961; \$3.95.

_____. *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. Monthly Review, 1968; 287 pp., \$6.95.

A sampling of these is essential to understanding what guerrilla warfare is, who are the participants, what are their goals. For an historical perspective, see also: Humphreys, R. A., and J. Lynch. *The Origins of the Latin American Revolutions, 1808-1826* (Knopf, 1966; 308 pp., \$2.50. Bibliography). (Roman)

Gunther, J. *Inside South America*. Pocket Books, 1967; \$1.25. Maps.

Information and statistics on every country in South America, laced liberally with stories and opinions of the 722 people that Gunther interviewed. Over a year of travel and research went into the book and it is up to date. An extensive bibliography scattered throughout the text. (Bartell)

Guetzkow (see Scott 1966)

Hall, E. *The Silent Language*. Premier, 1959; 192 pp., 60 cents. Bibliography, index.

A must on the reading list of those who want to understand the culture of any society. Points out how people "talk" to one another without the use of words—whether they be North Americans or Uruguayans. The spoken language is only one means of communication. Our manners and behavior often speak more plainly than words. Tradition, taboo, environment, habits and customs which are powerful influences on character and personality vary

greatly from country to country. This, then is a colorful and provocative excursion into anthropology as it pertains to day-to-day life and the culture patterns of our own and other countries. (Glab)

Hamill, H. M., Jr. (ed.). *Dictatorship in Spanish America*. Knopf, 1966; 244 pp., \$2.50. Bibliography.

Editor's 22-page introduction places dictators in wider frame of reference—namely, "more impersonal social, economic, intellectual, and, even, psychological forces in the history of Latin America." His 18 selections are intended to explore and explain the caudillo, "one of the major historical phenomena of the region." Beginning with some modern theories of personalism and dictatorship in Hispanic culture, the essays then trace Spanish American strongmen and their evolution from the early 19th century down to conspicuous but somewhat different types in recent decades. (Ely)

"Handbook on Latin America," *Intercom* 8 (5). Foreign Policy Assoc., Sept-Oct: 1966; 24-88, \$1.00. Several bibliographies.

Combines a wealth of general information not easily found in booklet form and information on how to obtain materials on institutions and agencies, an annotated list of readily obtainable films about Latin America, not to mention an 11-page bibliography of recent publications. (Ely)

Handbook of Latin American Studies, No. 28 (Humanities). U. of Florida P., 1966; 424 pp., \$20.00.

Contains 5,000 annotated selections culled from an initial corpus of 50,000 articles and books in the fields of art (15%), history (25%), language (5%), literature (35%), music (5%), philosophy (10%), and bibliography (5%). See directly below.

Handbook of Latin American Studies; No. 29 (Social Sciences). U. of Florida P., 1967; 720 pp., \$25.00.

Thousands of annotated selections of publications on anthropology, economics, education, geography, government and international relations, law, and sociology. Each section begins with a brief survey by the editors. The 1966 edition will review the humanities again, and the 1969 edition the social sciences, and so on—one hopes—alternately forever.

For the teacher who wants to be able to refer advanced students to relevant literature (contained, perhaps, in a near-by university library), these volumes are compact and indispensable. (Seelye)

Hanke, L. *Modern Latin America, Continent in Ferment*. Vol. 1: 2nd ed. *Mexico and Caribbean*. Vol. II: 2nd ed. *South America*. Van Nostrand, 1959; 256 pp. each, \$1.45 each volume.

Bibliography.

Good general introductions, followed by short sections on regions and major countries, and selections from authorities on special problems. Can be advantageously used in conjunction with Keen's *Readings*. (Vazquez-Bigi)

Hanke, L. *Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America*. Little, 1966; \$1.95.

Classical 1949 study. Hanke's research in Spain and Spanish America led him to refute the so-called "black legend" concerning the bad treatment of natives in the Spanish colonies. For Hanke—notwithstanding the abuses committed in practice by Spaniards in the New World—no nation in history made a more sincere effort than Spain to defend the Indians of America. Represents a major turning point in the interpretation of Spanish history. (There is a Spanish translation, Madrid: Aguilar, 1959.) (Vazquez-Bigi)

Hanson, E. P. *Puerto Rico: Ally for Progress*. Van Nostrand, 1962; 136 pp., \$1.45. Brief bibliography, index.

Traces the means by which Puerto Rico has been transformed from a poorhouse of the Caribbean to the highest per capita income level in Latin America because of its unique affiliation with the United States and by sheer determination of its "bootstraps." See also: Hill, R., J. M. Stycos, and K. W. Back. *The Family and Population Control: A Puerto Rican Experiment in Social Change* (New Haven: College & Univ. P., 1959 [paperback 1965]; 481 pp., \$3.45. Bibliography, index). (Dillman)

Hanson, E. P. "New Conquistadors in the Amazon Jungle." *Americas* 17 (9) 1965, 1-8, 35 cents.

Plans for gaining access to the suspected abundant wealth of the Amazon Basin are now a reality. The Basin, almost as large as the United States (minus Alaska and Hawaii), has been a socio-economic vacuum loosely attached to Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. The six countries, with varying degrees of emphasis, have turned their attention toward development of the long-neglected region across the Andes. Capstone of future development is a forest-edged highway along the eastern slopes of the Andes, beginning in Venezuela and terminating in Bolivia. The road, with auxiliary routes, will open millions of acres for settlement providing a possible safety valve for rapidly-growing population. Moreover, industrial raw materials will become available to the "Amazon" countries, and the cultivation of new lands could ease food supply problems. For historical perspective see Morse, R. M. *The Bandeirantes: The Historical Role of the Brazilian Pathfinders* (Knopf, 1965; 215 pp., \$2.50). (Dillman)

Haring, C. H. *The Spanish Empire in America*. Harcourt, 1963.

A great Harvard historian sums up the researches of a lifetime. Indispensable for institutional history. Should supplement Gibson (see above) for the teacher or student who wishes additional information. (Keen)

Harris (see Freyre)

Hauch, C. C. *The Current Situation in Latin American Education*. U. S. Government Printing Offices, 1963; 30 pp., 15 cents. Selected references.

This pamphlet deals in general with the educational administration, organization, and structure of the representative systems of education. The statements made in this short comparative study are accurate but ought to be documented in the light of recent statistical changes. The reader should refer to pamphlets on individual countries published by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.: *Education in Peru*, 1964, 30 cents; *Education in Chile*, 1964, 20 cents; *The Development of Education in Venezuela*, 1963, 55 cents. (Gutiérrez)

Heath, D. B., and R. N. Adams (eds.). *Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America: A Reader in the Social Anthropology of Middle and South America and the Caribbean*. Random, 1965; 586 pp. Bibliography.

Contains 26 articles written by different experts, organized under 4 major entries: The delineation of cultural entities in Latin America; Land, agriculture, and economics; Social organization; and Views of the world. Each of the 4 sections begins with an introduction by one of the editors. (Seelye)

Heilbroner, R. *The Great Ascent*. Harper, 1963; 178 pp., 95 cents. Index.

Deals with the problems of economic development faced by the underdeveloped world. Short, cogent, highly readable. Brings the "dismal science" of economics alive with brilliant treatment of the problems facing any nation wanting to develop economically. Deals with the problems of development in general, but one can learn a great deal about the problems of economic development in Latin America in particular by reading it. (Glab)

Henríquez-Ureña, Pedro. *Concise History of Latin American Culture*. Praeger, 1966; 214 pp., \$2.25. Bibliography, index.

A classical study. History of ideas, cultural movements, representative personalities. Also in Spanish: *Historia de la cultura en América hispánica* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947). (Vázquez-Bigi)

Herring, H. A. *A History of Latin America*. 2nd ed., Knopf, 1961; 845 pp., \$8.00. Bibliography, index.

One of the better organized and more readable general

histories. Stronger on wars of independence and national period than precolumbian and colonial eras. Quite effective when used in conjunction with Keen's *Readings* (see below). Helpful—and legible—maps sprinkled throughout text, which is followed by tables giving useful statistics for individual countries. (Ely)

Hirschman, A. O. *Latin American Issues: Essays and Comments*. Twentieth Century, 1961; 201 pp., \$1.45.

The book is made up of seven independent components. First, the ideologies of economic development are considered. There is a short essay by Victor Alba on the "Latin American Style and the New Social Forces." An anonymous note on Inter-American relations and two comments on the note (one by Lincoln Gordon) is next in sequence. For those who have a "unitary" view of inflation, the next several papers analyze the "causes" of inflation in Latin America and the related "monetarist-structuralist" controversy. Economic integration, as analyzed by both a U. S. economist and a Mexican economist (Victor Urquidí) precedes the last essay which analyzes the land reform issue in Latin America. (Scaperlanda)

Horcasitas, Fernando. *De Portirio Díaz a Zapata: memoria náhuatl de Milpa Alta*. Universidad Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, México, D.F. (Serie de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea, No. 8), 1968; 155 pp.

The story of the Mexican Revolution (1910-17) told for the first time from the viewpoint of a Mexican peasant speaking in the Náhuatl language. The noted Mexican anthropologist Fernando Horcasitas worked with a native informant to produce a stirring eye-witness account of the revolution as it affected the hillside village of Milpa Alta in the Valley of Mexico south of Mexico City. The original Náhuatl text is presented side by side with matching pages of Horcasitas' translation into Spanish. Introductory notes to each chapter and a glossary round out the unique story. (Wicke)

Horowitz, Irving Louis, Josué de Castro, and John Gerassi, eds. *Latin American Radicalism: A Documentary Report on Left and Nationalist Movements*. Vintage, 1969; 652 pp., \$2.45. Index.

A balanced anthology of nationalist leftist and economic radical writings on Latin America by both Latin American and U. S. specialists. It would serve as a useful introduction to contemporary viewpoints in Latin America whose popularity today constitutes in some cases a new ideological orthodoxy. (Groves)

Horowitz (see Debray)

Humphreys and Lynch (see Guevara)

Humphreys, R. A. *Latin American History: A Guide to the Literature in English*. London: Oxford U. P., 1960; 197 pp., \$4.00.

Two indices. Essential reference work for student and general reader alike. Invaluable guide to monographic and periodical literature, in addition to printed source materials and traveller's accounts. Has over 2000 entries with appropriate cross references divided into 14 major categories. (Ely)

Hyde, D. *The Troubled Continent: A New Look at Latin America*. Pflaum, 1967; 220 pp., \$5.95. Index. A journalist and former Communist regards Latin America as a tinder box. One of his conclusions: "... democratic Christian organizations ... are successfully operating in fields which in the past were left to Communists. If these are permitted to continue their activities unimpeded by the government, a genuinely non-Marxist progressive movement may in time emerge" (p. 206). Quite readable. (Seelye)

James (see Leyburn)

Jennings, J. D., and E. Norbeck (eds.). *Prehistoric Man in the New World*. U. of Chicago P., 1964; \$10.00.

The quality and profusion of recent research has greatly altered our ideas about the ancient aboriginal cultures of the Americas. The implications of very recent investigations are set forward by 18 archaeologists, each an expert in his own area. Sub-areas of North, Central, and South America are thoroughly covered as well as problems relating to Trans-Pacific contacts, cultural connections between North and South America, and linguistic similarities and differences. (Wicke)

Johnson, J. J. *The Military and Society in Latin America*. Stanford U. P., 1964; 308 pp., \$2.95. Bibliography, index.

Focuses attention on the historical development. By "the military," Johnson means the elite officers of the armed forces, principally the army which has most frequently imposed its will on Latin societies. Describes the various means, direct and indirect, employed by the military in their dictation of economic and political policy.

Two main themes emerge from this study. Contrary to the pattern of military leaders in other areas of the world, Latin officers tend to be followers, not leaders. More importantly, as products of their environments, the decisions of Latin officers are not always based on objectivity; more often than not judgments are preconceptional in origin. For this reason, the social-economic background of military leaders is made a focal point of exploration by the author. Related to this is Johnson's contention that in the future, the attitudes and reactions of the officers to social change will prove most instrumental in shaping the destiny of Latin nations.

Whether or not one can fully concur that Latin officers tend to be followers is debatable, for although ample evidence supports this thesis, one can convincingly argue to the contrary. (Martellaro)

Johnson, J. J. *Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors*. Stanford U. P., 1958; 272 pp., \$2.95. Bibliography, index.

One of the most influential books in the field of Latin American politics, it analyzes the development and character of the largely urban, nationalistic non-elite element in Latin American politics. This cannot be called a middle class for it lacks the economic homogeneity of a middle class. Johnson calls it the middle "sector." In certain nations of Latin America this element of the population has assumed a size and political importance that has made it the dominant factor in national political development. Johnson covers the middle sector development in each of these nations separately. In all nations of Latin America the urban, non-elite (in the traditionalist sense) groups have had a rapidly expanding influence in the 20th century, and therein lies the importance of this work. (Groves)

Johnson, J. J. (ed.). *Continuity and Change in Latin America*. Stanford U. P., 1964; 282 pp., \$2.95. Notes, index.

After an excellent introduction by Johnson, the subsequent 9 chapters concern themselves with the peasant (Wagley), rural labor (R. N. Adams), the writer (Ellison), the artist (Chase), the military (MacAlister), the industrialist (Strassmann), the urban worker (Bonilla), the university student (Silvert), and Latin America and Japan compared (Dore). Students might be directed to a specific chapter on an area that they had already become interested in. (Seelye)

Kany, C. E. *American-Spanish Euphemisms*. U. of Calif. P., 1960; 249 pp. \$5.00. Bibliography, index.

This scholarly work focuses on the varieties of words and gestures decent and indelicate, used to discuss superstition, delicacy, mental and moral defects, financial status, offenses and consequences, and corporal and sexual decency. The inclusion of so much data of intrinsic interest to students makes this study worthy of consideration as a library acquisition by the teacher who wants to introduce the student to the many dialectal varieties extant in Latin America. Two other works by the same author develop other less controversial phases of dialect: *American-Spanish Semantics* (Univ. of Calif., 1960; 352 pp., \$6.50) and *American-Spanish Syntax* (Univ. of Chicago, 2nd ed., 1951; 467 pp., \$7.50). (Seelye)

Kazamias and Epstein (see Benjamin 1965)

Keen, B. (ed.). *Readings in Latin American Civilization: 1492 to the Present*. Houghton Mifflin, 2nd ed., 1967; 533 pp., \$4.95. Glossary.

First and still broadest selection of source reading in Latin American history. Can be used alone or adopted to standard texts such as Herring (see above). Prefaces to major sections and individual chapters present crisp summaries of special periods or topics, and each of the readings is introduced by succinct explanatory remarks in italics. Editor's skillful translations preserve original vigor and charm of contemporary and eyewitness accounts, whether describing Aztec human sacrifices or the status of women in Latin American society today. (Ely)

Kenny, M. A *Spanish Tapestry: Town and Country in Castile*. Harper, 1961; 243 pp., \$1.75. Bibliography, index.

An anthropological study of the rural-urban contrast in modern Spanish life. See also Pitt-Rivers. (Seelye)

Kosok, B. *Life, Land and Water in Ancient Peru*. Long Island U. P., 1965; 263 pp. Index.

This beautiful and expensive book is probably more suited to library purchase than individual ownership. Its value lies more in its illustrations than in its text, which often goes so far in its attempt to entertain that it becomes uninformative. Its excellent collection of well-printed air photographs effectively conveys the significance of the Andean achievements in urbanism, and the large format of the book makes it useful for classroom demonstration. As a whole, it achieves its purpose of giving the average reader an understanding of many of the qualities of the important relationships between the ancient Peruvian societies and the land and water they so thoroughly controlled in building their civilizations. (Morris)

Ladu, Tora Tuve, (ed.). *Teaching for Cross-Cultural Understanding*. State Dept. of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N. C., 1968; 146 pp. 50 cents. Bibliography.

A readable and interesting elaboration of the major themes of Hispanic and French culture, based on Nostrand's Emergent Model. (Seelye)

Laguna Language Series. Kenworthy Educational Service, Inc., Buffalo, N. Y. *La Caperucita Roja; Los Tres Osos; Los Cuatro Cantantes de Guadalajara; El Flautista de Jamelin; Doña Cigarra y Doña Zorra y Doña Cigüeña*. Starter set per title: \$14.50; classroom set per title: \$37.25.

FLES materials consisting of recordings, cartoon booklets, filmstrips, teacher's guides. While only *Los Cuatro Cantantes* . . . has illustrations which are peculiarly Latin, all of these stories belong to the popular child-culture of Latin America (as well as the U. S.) and as such deserve attention. These sets are rather well done with drills, etc. (Seelye)

Lanning, E. P. *Peru Before the Incas*. Prentice-Hall, 1967; 287 pp., \$2.95. Index.

The most recent synthesis of Andean prehistory, and excellent both in terms of its inclusion of newly collected data and its presentation. Coverage is somewhat uneven, devoting much more space to the pre-agricultural and early agricultural peoples than to the later urban societies—undoubtedly the result of the author's own interests and research—but it is useful in filling a serious gap in the previous literature regarding the early periods. More useful as up-to-date background material for teachers than for students, but not so technical as to be beyond the understanding of the serious student. (Morris)

Latin American Curriculum Project. *Teaching About Latin America in the Elementary School: An Annotated Guide to Instructional Resources*. Bulletin No. 1, U. of Texas (Austin), 1967; 40 pp. (stenciled). Available from: The National Cash Register Co. (NCR), 4936 Fairmont Ave., Bethesda, Md. 20014 ERIC document ED 012 832.

_____ *Teaching About Latin America in the Secondary School: An Annotated Guide to Instructional Resources*. Bulletin No. 2, U. of Texas, 1967; 71 pp. (stenciled). Available from: NCR. ERIC Document ED 012 833.

_____ *The Social Scientists Look at Latin America: Six Position Papers*. Bulletin No. 3, U. of Texas, 1967; 174 pp. (stenciled). Available from: NCR. ERIC Document ED 012 365.

_____ *Key Ideas About Latin America*. Bulletin No. 4, U. of Texas, 1967; 33 pp. (stenciled). Available from: Latin American Curriculum Project, U. of Texas, Austin.

_____ *The Treatment of Latin America in Social Studies Instructional Materials*. Bulletin No. 5, U. of Texas, 1968; 41 pp. (stenciled). Available from: Latin American Curriculum Project, U. of Texas, Austin.

These excellent studies offer much assistance and insight in building sound content; they do not discuss methodological techniques. Highly recommended. (Seelye)

Latin American Research Review. (LARR Subscriptions, U. of Texas P., P. O. Box 7819, Austin, Texas 78712 [\$9.00 per year for individuals].)

Published 3 times a year (beginning with 1965), this journal devotes half of each issue to brief reports of research in progress, while the other half contains excellent survey articles, often followed by commentaries by other specialists. (Seelye)

Lavine, H. and Editors of Life. *Central America*. Time, 1964; 159 pp. Index.

Perhaps the most painless, interesting introduction;

beautifully illustrated. Pictures lend themselves to analysis in terms of variables of age, sex, social class, and residence. Handles the political issues. (Seelye)

- Leaf, M. *El Cuento de Ferdinando*. Viking, 1962; 68 pp., \$2.00. Also available in English: *The Story of Ferdinand*. LP recording of Spanish, with drills, available from EMC Corp., 180 East 6th St., St. Paul, Minnesota 55101.

In spite of an Anglo-sweetened personification of a Spanish bull, this wonderfully illustrated story and fine recording make delightful reading and listening for the elementary school teacher. (Seelye)

- Leal, Luis. *México: civilizaciones y culturas*. Houghton Mifflin, 1955; 205 pp., \$4.25. Bibliography, index, vocabulary, exercises, illustrated.

An excellent compendium of the history, culture, customs of the Latin-American nation closest to us—geographically and historically. Has a still valuable "bibliografía selecta" covering bibliographical materials, anthologies, history, geography, sociology, archaeology, pre-Hispanic cultures, plastic arts, music, folklore, popular art. Suitable for classroom use if the teacher wants to center on a country which is a first-magnitude focal area, rather than giving an extended (and, perhaps, not very precise) view of the continent. Its language level is appropriate for 3rd year high school and upward. (Vázquez-Bigi)

- Leonard, J. N., and Editors of Time-Life. *Ancient America*. Time, 1967; 191 pp. Bibliography, index.

Magnificently illustrated treatment of pre-Hispanic Indian cultures south of the Río Grande. (Seelye)

- León-Portilla, Miguel. *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. Beacon, 1962; 168 pp., \$5.00. Bibliography, index.

A collection of moving excerpts from Indian historical accounts that reveal the rich cultural heritage of Indian America and record the pathos of its destructions by the Spanish Conquest. (Keen)

- Lewis, O. *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied*. U. of Ill. P., 1951; 512 pp., \$2.95. Bibliography, index.

Excellent study by a team of social scientists. Although the comprehensive portrait of the villager which emerges is less sympathetic than that of the later studies by Lewis, it can still be highly recommended. The paperback edition not nearly as handsome as the hardcover; a fine abridgement is available in paperback (Holt: Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology series, 1960; \$1.95). See also, from the same Holt series: Faron, Louis C. *The Mapuche Indians of Chile*. 1968; 113 pp. (Seelye)

- Lewis, O. *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*. New Am. Lib., 1959; 95 cents. (Basic book, \$6.50)

Essential to understanding forces for change in Latin America today is an appreciation of the poor in both the cities and the countryside. Offers a sympathetic portrayal of Mexicans of diverse backgrounds: rural and urban, lower and middle class. Lewis' methods of research using the tape recorder for capturing actual conversations as well as his concept of "the culture of poverty" have aroused considerable controversy among social scientists. Perhaps his approach is overly pessimistic. Nevertheless, Lewis has produced a fascinating document. His sequels, *The Children of Sanchez*: (Random, 1961; \$2.50) and *Pedro Martinez* (Random, 1964; \$8.75) focus on individual families in the original book. *La Vida* (Random, 1966; \$7.00) uses the same field techniques to describe the Puerto Rican poor of San Juan and N.Y.C. (Wicke)

- Leyburn, J. G. *The Haitian People*. Rev. ed., Yale U.P., 1966; 342 pp., \$2.45. Annotated bibliography, index.

This sympathetic, eminently readable account of the history and sociology of Haiti was first published in 1941 and is brought nicely up to date with a 32-page Introduction by Sidney Mintz and an annotated bibliography of recent relevant publications. Mintz says that "[t]he central thesis of Leyburn's book is that Haitian society is sharply divided into two segments, and that the national institutional structure is such that no significant alteration in that division has occurred in the entire course of Haiti's history as a sovereign nation. At the base of the society is the rural agricultural sector, making up perhaps as much as 95% of the population; at the top the elite, which dominates the governmental apparatus and all national institutions. These two segments of society differ, in Leyburn's view, in all important regards: level of income, source of income, education, language, religion, social forms, values and attitudes, and all else . . . Leyburn was so impressed by the gap which separated yeomanry and elite that he chose to label these social segments castes rather than classes" (p.viii). See also: James, C. L. R. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and San Domingo Revolution* (2nd ed. rev., Vintage, 1963; 426 pp., \$2.45. Index) for an historical account of the engrossing War of Independence. (Seelye)

- Lieuwen, E. *U.S. Policy in Latin America*. Praeger, 1965; 149 pp., \$1.75. Bibliography, index.

An excellent introduction. Gives a balanced and objective account of the area, beginning with the earliest days of the North American colonies and tracing policy up to the present decade. (Glab)

- Lieuwen, E. *Arms and Politics in Latin America*. Praeger, 1965; 335 pp., \$2.50. Bibliography, index.

Using primarily the tools of an historian, Lieuwen examines the role the military has played and continues to play in

politics. The author shows an anti-military bias but this does not color his description of the important position of the military. Of substantial interest to the introductory student would be the second part of the book which examines U. S. policy toward the Latin American military. Analyzes the role of the military in the Castro regime of Cuba. In general, the author condemns the U. S. policy of military aid to Latin America on the ground that it has encouraged military intervention in politics. (Groves)

Linke (see Benham)

Lipset, S. M., and A. Solari (eds.). *Elites in Latin America*. Oxford U. P., 1967; 531 pp., \$2.95. Chapter notes, index.

Reports much empirical research. Essential for an understanding of the Latin American power structure. (Seelye)

Loprete, Carlos A., and McMahon. *Iberoamérica: Síntesis de su civilización*. Scribner's, 1965; 369 pp., \$5.50. Bibliography, index, vocabulario, four-page list of important dates.

Comprehensive survey completely in Spanish for 2nd year language classes as a supplement to a grammar. Very well illustrated objective presentation of subjects which range from primitive men, flora and fauna, to the future of Latin America. A "cuestionario" and suggested topics for composition and conversation follow each chapter. Offers those with no previous knowledge of area; a superficial panorama. (Rivera)

MacEoin, G., and Editors of Life. *Colombia and Venezuela and the Guianas*. Time, 1965; 159 pp. Index.

Same laudatory comments made of Lavine (see bibliographic entry) are applicable here, too. (Seelye)

McAlister, L. N. "Recent Research and Writing on the Role of the Military in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 2 (1). Fall 1966, 5-36.

Well-written article reviews the literature on the military in Latin America and is the logical source to begin a study of them. Probably the most informative single brief source on the subject. (Seelye)

Macaulay, N. *The Sandino Affair*. Quadrangle, 1967; 319 pp., \$6.95. Extensive notes, index.

When a popularly elected government was overthrown by a military coup in Nicaragua in 1925, armed revolt sprang up in different parts of the country. This became "institutionalized" by 1927 when the guerrilla leader Sandino launched a campaign against the U. S. marines in Nicaragua. The first 4 pages of the preface offer a concise introduction into 20th century guerrilla warfare in Latin America. The author, who served 5 months fighting alongside Castro's guerrillas in 1958 before breaking with Castro over communism, has written an engaging politico-military account of this 7-year

"affair." Although Macaulay's sympathies lie with Sandino, the book is essentially objective and not a polemic tract.

Recommended to teachers and students who enjoy interesting accounts of military engagements or who are interested in guerrilla warfare. Also affords a fascinating account of U. S. meddling in the internal affairs of Latin America. (Seelye)

Madsen, W. *The Mexican-Americans of South Texas*. Holt, 1964; 112 pp.

Best introduction available; anthropological study. Its readability makes it appropriate for secondary students as well as scholars. (Seelye)

Magdoff (see Frank)

Martin, M. R., G. H. Lovett, and L. R. Hughes (eds.). *Encyclopedia of Latin American History*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1968; 348 pp., \$10.00.

Within the limitations of space, this is a useful classroom or library reference. It would exceed the claims of the book to regard it as 100% accurate. See also: Fagg, J. E. *Latin America: A General History* (Macmillan, 1963; 1070 pp. Further readings, index.). (Seelye)

Martz, J. D. (ed.). *The Dynamics of Change in Latin America*. Prentice-Hall, 1965; 283 pp., \$6.00.

Thirty of the finest readings of Latin America written by leading authorities in the field, among them George I. Blanksten, Albert Hirschman, John J. Kennedy, Kalman H. Silvert, and Theodore Wychoff. Analysis, rather than being done on a country-to-country basis, is according to subject matter. As a consequence, the reader encounters a diversity of topics: church dichotomies, communism, ideologies of economic development, labor and politics, trends in social thought, etc. Despite the variety, the main thread which stitches the various contributions together is a pronounced emphasis on "dynamic action and change." (Martellaro)

Mecham, J. L. *Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations*. Rev. ed., U. of North Carolina P., 1966; 465 pp., \$8.50. Bibliography, index.

Revised edition of a standard 1933 reference work updates the coverage through 1963 and reshapes the emphasis (which in the earlier edition was heavily Mexican) to be more hemispheric. Uses an historical, chronological approach to explain and interpret the political relations of the Church. First 3 chapters deal with Latin America globally from colonization through independence; subsequent 12 chapters organized around a country or culture area. Concluding chapter offers a concise review of the political role of religion in Latin America, and is vigorously written. A major source of information for the teacher, its usefulness

for the secondary student is limited as a result of the academic language with which the author burdens the reader [e.g., "This omission contributed to subsequent acrimonious arguments as to whether the Federal or State governments controlled patronage" [p. 31]; "The clerics . . . gave utterance to most fanatical language and sowed alarm among the people" [p. 311]. A paperback dedicated to Mecham (Pike, F. B. [ed.], *The Conflict Between Church and State in Latin America*. Knopf, 1964; 239 pp.) contains an anthology of brief essays by Latins and foreigners, organized around the colonial, national, and contemporary periods. (Seelye)

Mitchell, C. (see Deil)

Mitchell, W. H. (see Benjamin)

Moog, Vianna (tr. by Barrett). *Bandeirantes and Pioneers (Bandeirantes e Pioneiros)*. Braziller, 1964; 316 pp., \$6.95. Bibliography, index.

A well-annotated provocative volume attempting to explain why there are such great differences between the United States of America and the United States of Brazil. Refutes the theory that the black race and miscegenation are the causes of a retarded culture and civilization. Instead, suggests the differences lie in the character and motives of the settlers. Presents an eclectic outlook to the question of the backwardness of Brazil as compared to the U. S. A. Moog's technique of citing a theory, giving examples to refute the premise, then posing questions is very effective. (Rivera)

Mörner, Magnus. *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*. Little, 1967; 178 pp., \$2.50. Bibliography.

Compact, excellent study. For an even briefer review of the work done by historians to reconstruct and analyze the role of the Indian and Negro in colonial Latin America, see Mörner, "The History of Race Relations in Latin America: Some Comments on the State of Research," (*Latin American Research Review* 1 (3), Summer 1966, 17-44). (Seelye)

Morse (see Hansen 1965)

Needler, M. *Latin American Politics in Perspective*. Van Nostrand, 1963; 192 pp., \$2.40. Bibliography, index.

Surveys the historical and social background, political parties, the military, political violence, governmental structure and public policy. A topical, rather than country-by-country approach. Will make fascinating reading for anyone seeking a general understanding. (Glab)

Needler, Martin C. *Political Development in Latin America: On Stability, Violence, and Evolutionary Change*. Random, 1968; 210 pp., \$2.45. Index, bibliography.

Presents an interesting analytical framework of political development, then objectively discusses a number of major political factors bearing on the framework. Represents the conclusion of much of the recent work Needler has carried out as a political scientist. A good study of problems of development; stimulating and not so theoretical as to confuse beginning students. (Groves)

Nye, J. S., Jr. "Central American Regional Integration," *International Conciliation* 572. Carnegie Endowment, 1967; 66 pp., 50 cents.

Written from a political scientist's viewpoint, this is a concise, comprehensive and technical survey of Central American economic integration. The initial examination of a "political-economy" (Functionalist) theory of economic integration is followed by a survey of integration attempts in Central America. The role of the political culture in the integration process is examined. The domestic political costs of integration and the relationship between these costs and integration's progress are considered. Concludes with an analysis of the influence of external factors in economic integration's progress. The most important of these external factors are identified as the Economic Commission for Latin America and the United States. References to many other works are contained in the footnotes. (Scaperlanda)

Nystrom, J. W., and N. A. Haverstock. *The Alliance for Progress*. Van Nostrand, 1966; 126 pp., \$1.45. 4 maps, chronology, notes, index.

Relates the origins of the Alliance and summarizes the development programs of international, regional, and domestic agencies in Latin America. Subsequent to discussion of the physical and human geography of Latin America, the program's evolution is presented clearly to complement later analysis of its mechanics and operational difficulties. The goals, accomplishments, and failures of the Alliance are reviewed for each country supplying, thereby, a useful interpretive source for those unacquainted with the intent and workings of this far-reaching development scheme. (Dillman)

Osborn (see Benham)

Owens (see Benham)

Padgett, L. V. *The Mexican Political System*. Houghton Mifflin, 1966; 244 pp., \$2.75. Bibliography, index.

An excellent treatment of politics and political structures. Devotes only passing attention to the governmental institutions, preferring instead to focus on such things as the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the President as a political leader, and the revolutionary past as a source of political legitimacy. The Mexican political system is distinctive in many respects from others of Latin America, but it has

achieved stability and remarkable material progress for the country. This book amply describes the system and, as such, provides much valuable insight into the Mexican success story. See also: Scott, R. E. *Mexican Government in Transition* (Rev. ed., U. of Illinois P., 1964; 345 pp., \$2.25). Bibliography, index. (Groves)

Pan American Union. *Latin America: Problems and Perspectives of Economic Development, 1963-1964*. Johns Hopkins, 1966; 242 pp., \$6.50. Tables, index.

This authoritative analysis begins with a current (1961-64) appraisal of the Latin American economic development situation. In successive sections, export problems of external financing for development, and various domestic problems are related to economic development prospects. In addition to the clear, concise analysis, the number and quality of statistical tables make this a very useful volume. (Scaperlanda)

Parry, J. H. *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*. Knopf, 1966; \$6.95.

Particularly good for routes and ways of trade and imperial rivalry, but also treats, in richer detail than Gibson, social, economic, and political arrangements in the Spanish Empire in America. (Keen)

Payne, J. *Labor and Politics in Peru*. Yale U. P., 1965; \$6.75. Index.

The analysis is suggestive of much broader application than the title indicates. Attempts to view labor unions and the government in their political setting and, as a result, provides a good introduction to Peruvian political life. The central thesis is that the process of bargaining by labor unions is infinitely more political than that in our own country. Suggests that the unions constantly and deliberately provoke governmental intervention in the bargaining process, often with the use of strategic violence. While written at a fairly advanced level, it is invaluable in demonstrating that processes that seem outwardly similar to those in our own country and, in fact, are likely to be essentially different under conditions that prevail in Latin America. (Groves)

Paz, Octavio. *Labyrinth of Solitude*. Grove, 1962; 212 pp., \$1.95.

An interpretive, analytical essay on the psychology of the Mexican man by one of the best contemporary Mexican poets. (*El laberinto de la soledad*. 2nd rev. ed., Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1959; 191 pp.) (Vazquez-Bigi)

Pearcy, G. Etzel. *The West Indian Scene*. Van Nostrand, 1965; 136 pp., \$1.45. Statistical data, bibliography, index of places, 5 full-page maps.

Successfully surveys the major processes that have influenced the development of one of the world's three great

tropical archipelagos (the others being the East Indies and the Philippines). The West Indies differs from the others by its heterogeneous political entities and diversified cultural traditions. Emphasis is placed on the common problems arising from the tangential political, economic, language, religious, and cultural patterns in addition to factors of isolation and limited resource base. (Dillman)

Pendle, G. A *History of Latin America*. Pelican, 1963; 249 pp., \$1.25. Bibliography, index, 5 maps.

An historical introduction. Makes a good "first book" on Latin America for both high school and college students. Not recommended for anyone who already has some knowledge of the area. See also: Bierck, H. A. (ed.). *Latin American Civilization: Readings and Essays* (Allyn, 1967; 438 pp.). (Glab)

Pendle (see also: Benham)

Perkins (see Dozer)

Perrone, Vito. *Image of Latin America: A Study of American School Textbooks and School Children Grades Two Through Twelve*. Marquette: Northern Michigan U., 1965; 183 pp., (stenciled). Bibliography.

Concludes that the amount of space in elementary and secondary textbooks devoted to Latin America is adequate, quantitatively, but "they contain much that could not help at all and possibly could hinder" (p. 118). Specifically mentions as questionable the "Black Legend with its excessive concentration on the brutality and ineptness of the Spanish . . . [and] the aura of condescension relating to institutional elements of Latin America." The author emphasizes importance of the textbook (over supplementary aids) in student understanding. (Seelye)

Petras, J., and M. Zeitlin (eds.). *Latin America: Reform or Revolution?* Fawcett, 1968.

Asks the important historical and economic questions and sets up relevant models of political control.

Most books written on Latin American politics begin with the solemn declaration that Latin America is composed of so many diverse nations that it is extremely difficult to make generalizations; then the authors proceed to make generalizations which have nothing to do with the reality of power and poverty in Latin America, which hardly attempt to peek behind the "democratic" paper constitutions, which talk of development in an area in which the poor grow poorer, which speak of the harmony of interest with the U. S. rather than the depraving effects of U. S. domination, which speak of stability and order in an area in which the only hope is revolutionary change, which forget that the real violence taking place in Latin America today is in the lives of the poor with their struggle to subsist under intolerable conditions.

On the other hand, Petras and Zeitlin have selected essays which get to the crux of the valid generalizations these countries have in common—the role of imperialism, the role of the class struggle, the role of revolution—initiating the rewriting of Latin American history. (Roman)

Picón-Salas, Mariano (tr. by Leonard). *A Cultural History of Spanish America: From Conquest to Independence*. U. of Calif. P., 1962; \$1.95.

A highly readable, imaginative synthesis by a Venezuelan man of letters whose immense erudition does not interfere with his capacity for fresh, sprightly writing. (Keen)

Pike (see Mehan)

Pitt-Rivers, J. A. *The People of the Sierra*. U. of Chicago P., 1961; 232 pp., \$1.95. Glossary, index.

Excellent study by a noted anthropologist of a town in Southern Spain. See also Kenny 1961 (above). (Seelye)

Poblete and Burnett (see Urquidí)

Pohl, Ingrid, and Josef Zepp (K. E. Webb, [ed.]). *Latin America: A Geographical Commentary*. Dutton, 1967; 315 pp., \$2.35. Bibliography, statistical data, index.

Intended as an introduction from a geographer's view. More attention is paid to physical geography than usual, a reflection of German influence; yet, the writing also shows a cultural-determinist approach which is more French or American than German or British. Refreshingly direct and realistic approach to many problems makes this a valuable work. Many photographs and maps enable meaningful geographic appraisal to be made and lend substance to the editor's concluding preface statement: "Area study is a field to which the geographer brings unique concepts and talents. In today's world . . . the complexity of area problems and problem areas [allows] the geographer [to contribute importantly] to the understanding and interpretation of the earth's surface."

One criticism is the small type employed; also page size hampers clarity of some maps. See also: Robinson, H. *Latin America: A Geographical Survey* (Rev. ed., Praeger, 1967; 499 pp. Illustrated, bibliography). (Dillman)

Ponce de León, José Luis S. *El arte de la conversación*. Harper, 1967; 187 pp., \$5.25. Tapes.

This handsome book has 15 chapters which develop a different aspect of Spanish (not Latin American) culture, including the university, politics, military service, movies, anti-Americanism, juvenile delinquency. Each chapter begins with a photograph relating to the topic and ends with pattern and substitution drills. The "Sheila and Pilar" approach is a little mickay mouse but many of the reviewer's advanced Spanish students found the book enjoyable.

Lends itself to giving the students a "fondo de conversación" for themes of real interest. (Seelye)

Prescott, W. H. *History of the Conquest of Mexico*. (many paperback editions).

_____. *History of the Conquest of Peru*. (many paperback editions).

These classic works remain unsurpassed for breadth of conception and literary charm, although their romantic attitudes clearly reveal their age. (Keen)

Redfield, R. *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*. U. of Chicago P., 1941; \$7.50.

A University of Chicago anthropologist describes differing world-views among the inhabitants of the Yucatan Peninsula in Mexico. For Mérida, capital of the State of Yucatán, he delineates the heterogeneity, secularism and social stratifications that characterize the urban view. A contrasting folk view is pictured for a tribal village in Quintana Roo showing homogeneity, religiosity, and egalitarianism. Two intermediate communities—a town and a village—are fitted between the ends of Redfield's folk-urban continuum. One of the latter, Chankom, received particular attention in a follow-up study 17 years later (Redfield, *A Village That Chose Progress: Chankom Revisited*, U. of Chicago P., 1950; 187 pp., \$1.50).

The urban concept of progress was introduced into Chankom by American archaeologists during two decades work at the nearby ruin of Chichén Itzá. Redfield's optimism in Chankom's going "forward with technology" is belied by today's empty village—abandoned by success-oriented villagers who migrated to the cities in search of "progress." (Wicke)

Reed, Alma. *Ancient Past of Mexico*. Crown, 1964; \$7.50.

Excellent guide to all the archaeological sites in Mexico, with maps of their location, cultural and historical background of the people, details of their discovery and restoration, and pictures of the sites as they stand today. Also gives location of the artifacts found with pictures. (Bartell)

Reed, N. *The Caste War of Yucatan*. Stanford U.P., 1964; 308 pp., \$2.95. Bibliography, index.

In 1848 the Maya Indians waged war against their "white masters." The actual military campaigns subsided after 7 years, but the rebels, using guerrilla tactics, held control of the jungles for the rest of the century. "Occasional raids brought them food, guns, alcohol, and prisoners—white men and women who ended their days as slaves in Mayan villages." Interestingly written. (Seelye)

Ripoll (see Englekirk)

Robertson, W. S. *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics as Told in the Lives of Their Liberators*. Free Press, 1965; \$2.95.

The best brief introduction to such key figures as Bolívar, San Martín, and Hidalgo, by one of the founders of Latin American History in the United States, a former professor at the University of Illinois. (Keen)

Robinson (see Pohl)

Rodgers (see Burr)

Ross, S.R. (ed.). *Is the Mexican Revolution Dead?* Knopf, 1966; 225 pp., \$2.50 Bibliography.

Provocative anthology of contemporary and recent interpretations of the Revolution of 1910, edited and organized by a leading U.S. specialist in 20th-century Mexican history. Ratio of 18 selections from Mexican authors to four by North Americans affords non-Spanish speaking readers an unusual opportunity to probe (in translation) some of the best minds in Mexico and gain a better understanding of what Latin America's first successful economic and social revolution has meant for their nation—and for the United States. (Ely)

Samora, Julián, and R. A. Lamanna. *Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago*. (Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 8.) Los Angeles: U. of Calif. Grad. Sch. of Bus. Ad., Div. of Research, 1967.

The literature on the rural Mexican-American stretches from the still respectable exposés of discrimination against migrant groups of several decades ago (Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico*), through William Madsen's study of South Texans (see p. 60, this Handbook), to the more recent publications of the University of California's Mexican-American Study Project (see, for example, N. L. González, *Spanish Americans of New Mexico: A Distinctive Heritage*, 1967), and now, at last, a well-documented study of a community of urban Hispanics. (Seelye)

Sánchez and Barrientos (see Benjamin)

Sarmiento, Domingo F. *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants; or Civilization and Barbarism* (tr.) Collier, 2nd printing, 1966; 288 pp., \$1.80. Private indexing under way, with consent of the publisher.

No book, to this annotator's knowledge, gives a more vital reading experience of the forces of violence and education. Had there been a few more Latin American Sarmientos, perhaps today there would be less opportunity (dare we say need?) for the Castros and the Guevaras to come to the rescue of their countrymen. Mary Mann put it quite neatly a hundred years ago: "Their wild cry of agony now summons him to their aid." (Emphasis mine; cf. p. 20.) (Smith)

Scaperlanda (see Dell)

Schmitt and Burks (see Anderson)

Schurz, W.L. *Brazil: The Infinite Country*. Dutton, 1961; 346 pp., \$5.95. Supplementary reading list pronunciation and spelling guide to Portuguese, index.

Those who would understand Latin America's largest nation-state should not ignore this book. Brings into perspective the diverse elements of people and land that constitute the emerging giant of Brazil. Presents material in three basic categories: the scene, the characters, and the action. An approach that is mainly topical in nature tends to obscure the importance of regionalism in Brazil. The regional character of man-land relationships antecedent to present conditions suffers from Schurz's treatment. This criticism should not detract from the book's value, rather it underlines the difficulties inherent in an effort of such magnitude. (Dillman)

Schurz, W. L. *Latin America: A Descriptive Survey*. Dutton, 1964; 373 pp., \$1.55. Glossary, reading list, index.

True to its title, a survey of the geography, history, people, economy, customs, and politics of the lands south of the Río Grande. This revised work concentrates on the recent changes in the political and economic scenes. Useful for the specialist or the general reader, the book might serve as a companion to Pohl 1967 because of its wider spectrum. (Dillman)

Scobie (see Whitaker 1964)

Scott 1964 (see Padgett)

Scott, A. M., W. A. Lucas, and T. M. Lucas. *Simulation and National Development*. Wiley, 1966; 177 pp., \$5.95.

The authors describe eight different simulates, each illustrating a different type, and discuss their theoretical implications. Four of the examples are based on Brazilian and Chilean models. A must for teachers interested in simulation as a technique for teaching complex issues. The authors cite *Simulation in International Relations: Developments for Research and Teaching* by Guetzkow, et al (Prentice-Hall, 1963) as having influenced their thinking. Scott's last chapter, "The Procedures and Uses of Simulation," offers a thought-provoking review of the potentialities of simulations as an educational technique. See also: Abt, C. C. *Games for Learning*. Occasional Paper No. 7. (Cambridge Mass. 01238): Educational Services, Inc., 1966; 24 pp. (Seelye)

Senior (see Sexton)

Sexton, Patricia Cayo. *Spanish Harlem: Anatomy of Poverty*. Harper, 1965; 208 pp., \$1.60. Index.

A compassionate look at one of our slums by a Ph.D and former labor union activist. Quotes from children and adults

alike help enliven this preceptive and sprightly written paperback. For another excellent study, see Senior, C. *The Puerto Ricans: Strangers, Then Neighbors* (Quadrangle, 1961; 128 pp., \$3.50. Bibliography, index). (Seelye)

Shapiro, S. (ed.). *Integration of Man and Society in Latin America*. CICOP, 1967; 356 pp., \$3.25. Index.

Contains the edited papers of the fourth annual Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program (CICOP) conference; especially — but not exclusively — appropriate as an introduction for Catholic students or for teachers who want to learn more about a wide range of subjects, many of which are developed with Catholic insight. The papers of the 1968 CICOP conference on "Cultural Factors in Inter-American Relationships: Bond or Barrier" will be available in the fall of 1968. See also Considine 1966. (Seelye)

Simpson, L. B. *Many Mexicos*. 4th ed., U. of Calif. P., 1967, \$1.95.

By now a classic, has been rewritten and brought up to date four times since its original publication in 1941. It remains, however, a uniquely comprehensive one-volume history. Manages to cover everything from the geological beginnings of Mexico up to 1966, with a few forecasts for the coming years and Mexico's history to be. (Bartell)

Smith, R. F. (ed.) *Background to Revolution: The Development of Modern Cuba*. Knopf, 1966; 224 pp., \$2.50. Bibliography, glossary.

For readers wondering what happened to Cuba during the four-and-one-half centuries separating Columbus from Castro, the editor provides quite a few of the answers in this anthology of 25 excerpts from the writings of U. S., Cuban, and European authors. Healthy antidote to last decade's deluge of usually subjective and didactic publications of instant "experts" bemused by Castro's charisma or alleged international conspiracies. Places events since 1959 in proper historical perspective, tracing roots of present situation far back into Cuban past. (Ely)

Smith, T. Lynn (ed.). *Agrarian Reform in Latin America*. Knopf, 1965; 206 pp., \$2.50. Bibliography.

One of the Americas' most distinguished rural sociologists brings together 19 examples from significant Latin American sources — individual essays, speeches, and government documents — to illustrate different views of the agrarian reform issue from mid-19th century down to 1960's. Of particular value is editor's comprehensive and lucid analysis (pp. 3-59) of both general and specific aspects of the problems, based on personal observations and research in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and Venezuela. See also: Smith. *The Process of Rural Development in Latin America* (U. of Florida P., 1967; 87 pp.). (Ely)

Stabb, Martin S. *In Quest of Identity: Patterns in the Spanish American Essay of Ideas, 1890-1960*. U. of North Carolina Press, 1967; 244 pp., \$7.50. Bibliography, index.

Draws richly from Latin American thought and from all levels of life to advance the readers' insight into significant themes of Latin preoccupation. (Seelye)

Steward, J. H., and L. C. Faron. *Native Peoples of South America*. McGraw-Hill, 1959; \$9.95.

A condensation of the 7-volume classic *Handbook of South American Indians*; strong emphasis on environment in accounting for the wide differences among South American natives. All cultural levels are treated, from the elaborate socialistic Inca Empire to the hunters and gatherers of Tierra del Fuego. Post-European changes in regard to the native populations received analytical attention. (Wicke)

Szulc, Tad. *The Winds of Revolution*. Praeger, 1963; 308 pp., \$5.95. Index.

Former chief South American correspondent for the *New York Times* (1956-1961), Szulc critically examines the reasons for current economic, social and political instability in Latin America. He points out that: "A violent reassessment of the old values is under way, as the new Latin American generations, which no longer have any use for the past, are moving into positions of intellectual, economic, and political leadership." The spirit of revolution has a host of origins among which are exploding populations, misdirected use of the land's wealth, feudal conditions in rural areas, urban misery and overcrowding, and lack of progressive, democratic governments. An informative analysis of the development of revolutionary ideologies coupled with warnings and suggested guidelines for the future makes this one of the best recent journalistic contributions to Latin American affairs. (Dillman)

Tannenbaum, F. *Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread*. Knopf, 1950; 293 pp., \$4.95. Index, maps.

Here in another region, and in a later period than Sarmiento's, the same themes in Latin American history confront us: regionalism and cataclysm. Organized topically (14 chapters in all): land, people, and exciting survey, revolution, politics and government, problems concerning property, labor, agrarianism, church-state relations, education, U.S. relations; and 3 chapters on "The Conditions of Economic Progress." (Smith)

Tannenbaum, F. *Ten Keys to Latin America*. Vintage, 1966; 237 pp., \$1.65. Index.

Popular survey of various challenges confronting peoples of Latin America today by one of the Hemisphere's foremost Latin Americanists. Reflects author's preoccupation with problems of peasant societies (above all the Indian), as well

as his intimate contacts with Mexico and the Mexicans between the two World Wars. Despite thin coverage and somewhat simplistic approach to such complex questions as industrialization and urbanization, the work has genuine merit as an introduction to some of the principal problems besetting Latin America in the second half of the 20th century. Author's "ten keys" are: The Land and Its People, Race, Religion, Regionalism, The Hacienda, Leadership, Politics, The United States and Latin America, and, finally, Castro and Social Change. (Ely)

Textor, R.B. (ed.). *Cultural Frontiers of the Peace Corps*. M.I.T., 1966; 363 pp., \$3.45. Chapter bibliographies, index.

While only 100 pages directly treat Latin America, the book as a whole, by examining problems encountered by the Peace Corps abroad, provides an excellent introduction to "culture fatigue." See especially Guthrie and Szanton on the Philippines, Friedland on Tanganyika, and Comitas, Doughty, Palmer, and Heath on Latin America. (Seelye)

Thompson, J.E.S. *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization*. U. of Oklahoma P., 1954; \$5.95.

A distinguished scholar of the Maya tells of the accomplishments of America's most elaborate pre-Columbian civilization. Sophisticated systems of writing, calendarics, astronomy and architecture are described. The mysterious ending of the Maya civilization is discussed and possible reasons for the sudden change put forward. (Wicke)

Tomasek, R.D. *Latin American Politics: Studies of the Contemporary Scene*. Doubleday, 1966; 585 pp., \$2.45.

An anthology that contains many interesting selections that have previously appeared in books and periodicals of recent date. The first part examines the "problems, power groups, processes and forces affecting Latin American politics"; the second describes and analyzes the politics of separate countries. While the book suffers from the usual weaknesses of anthologies (substantial variation in the quality of the selections and lack of much continuity), it has a broad coverage and should acquaint the student with many of the similarities and differences that exist between the political practices of the nations of the region. Few of the articles are written at a level that could not be easily grasped by introductory level students. (Groves)

UNESCO. *Problems and Strategies of Educational Planning: Lessons from Latin America*. (R.F. Lyons, ed.). Paris: Librairie de L'UNESCO, Place de Fontenoy, Paris 7, France. 1965; 117 pp., \$2.00.

Social-economic oriented, considers education as an essential force in the growth of the nation-state. Major problems in educational planning brought into focus are: land tenure, rural educational policies, training for agricultural

development, regional coöperation at the university level, and the role of cost analysis in educational planning. (Gutiérrez)

Urquidí, Víctor L. *The Challenge of Development in Latin America*. Praeger, 1964; 209 pp., \$1.95. Index.

A Mexican economist provides comprehensive coverage of economic problems. Aside from analyzing selected general structural problems, monetary problems, institution and political requirements, the "so-called" social aspects of economic growth are included in the analysis of the domestic economy. As one would expect; there is substantial emphasis on international problems. Included in this category are international trade trends, stabilization of export prices, foreign capital and its "contribution" (including the transfer of technology), economic integration, and the Alliance for Progress. If one holds that one must be part of a society to really understand its problems, Urquidí is "must" reading. He knows the problems, describes them vividly, and offers positive policy recommendations. For an emphasis on labor, see Form, W.H., and A.A. Blum (eds.). *Industrial Relations and Social Change in Latin America* (U. of Florida P., 1965; 177 pp. Bibliography, index). and Poblete Troncoso, Moisés, and B.G. Burnett. *The Rise of the Latin American Labor Movement* (College & Univ. P., 1960; 179 pp., \$1.75. Bibliography, index.). (Scaperlanda)

Vallant, G.C. *The Aztecs of Mexico*. 2nd ed., Penguin, 1966; \$2.95. Illustrations.

The classic ethnological reconstruction of the life way of the pre-conquest Aztecs of Central Mexico. (Bartell)

Vernon, R. (ed.). *How Latin America Views the U.S. Investor*. Praeger, 1966; 177 pp., \$10.00. Notes.

This volume aims at giving us the unusual opportunity to see ourselves as we appear to the outsider. The first paper manifests the conflicting views of North Americans and Latin Americans relative to foreign investment.

Following a brief account of regional development and foreign investment are three additional papers. García Vázquez writes on the Argentine view, the Brazilian view is advanced by Jaguaribe, and the editor, Vernon, gives his interpretation of the Mexican view.

Not particularly recommended for bedtime reading. The writers' objective reality tends to disquiet a North American into a mental state of provocation or at least to the point of wanting to defend himself with what he views as appropriate rebuttal. (Martellaro)

Véliz, Claudio. *Obstacles to Change in Latin America*. Oxford U.P., 1965; 263 pp., \$6.75.

_____. *The Politics of Conformity in Latin America*. Oxford U.P., 1967; 291 pp., \$7.00.

These collections of essays present what is essentially the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America line: the need for structural changes, the need to shift from development directed toward the outside to development internally. Especially good are the following articles: Nun, "The Middle Class Military Coup," which argues the reactionary nature of the Latin American middle class; Thomas, "Middle Class Politics and the Cuban Revolution," which attacks the thesis that the Cuban Revolution was middle class in nature or composition; Furtado, "Political Obstacles to the Economic Development of Brazil"; and Navarro, "Mexico—the Lopsided Revolution." (Roman)

Véliz, Claudio (ed.). *Latin America and the Caribbean: A Handbook*. Praeger, 1968; 840 pp., \$25.00. End of chapter bibliographies, tables, plates, maps.

This invaluable reference is divided into 5 parts: a political history and economic survey of each country; political affairs within the continent and foreign relations; economic affairs; the people and social institutions; and contemporary arts. Selections by 82 specialists are up-to-date, readable, biting. (Seelye)

Wagley 1964 (see Diéguez)

Wagley, C. *An Introduction to Brazil*. Columbia U.P., 1963; 322 pp., \$2.25. Bibliography, index.

This book is just what the title says, and certainly one of the best available in any language for the non-specialist. Since more people in South America speak Portuguese today than Spanish; and since Brazil is the only other nation in the Western Hemisphere with the potential to become a world rather than a continental power (Argentina, Mexico, and Canada), intelligent U.S. readers owe it to themselves to become more familiar with the Colossus of the South. Explains how climate, topography, industrialization, economic development, ethnic origins, historical accidents, and ecological factors have shaped the Brazilian nature and character over four centuries of growth; examines elements which have united and divided its inhabitants. Concludes with a fascinating essay entitled "If I Were A Brazilian." See also: Burns, E.B. (ed.). *A Documentary History of Brazil* (Knopf, 1966; 398 pp., \$2.95), and Horowitz, I.L. *Revolution in Brazil: Politics and Society in a Developing Nation* (Dutton, 1964; 430 pp., \$7.50. Bibliography, index), and Wagley. *Amazon Town: A Study of Men in the Tropics* (Knopf, 1953 [Epilogue written 1962]; 315 pp., \$2.50. Brief bibliography, index). (Ely)

Wagley, C. *The Latin American Tradition: Essays on the Unity and the Diversity of Latin American Culture*. Columbia U.P., 1968; 242 pp., \$6.75. Bibliography, index.

An excellent introduction filled with valuable information and stimulating thoughts: "Everywhere in the countries of Latin America [the Spanish conquest and the introduction of Negro slavery] created a peasantry that is analogous to the European and even the Asian peasantry only in a formal sense" (p. 120); "In most countries [a new sector of industrialists and businessmen] are today more important in the national power structure than the traditional landholding and rural based elite" (p. 194). Secondary students will find some difficulty with the social—scientific vocabulary ("endogamous," "consanguineous") and the liberal inclusion of Spanish and Portuguese words. (Seelye)

Wagley, C., and M. Harris. *Minorities in the New World: Six Case Studies*. Columbia U.P., 1958; 320 pp. Bibliography, index.

After an introduction to the area, drawing freely from many ethnic examples, discusses the Brazilian and Mexican Indians, treating each separately. Second section discusses Negroes of Martinique and the U.S. Both of these sections are introduced by 5-10 page surveys placing the Indian or Negro in a hemispheric frame of reference. The rest of the book (from p. 161) treats the European immigrants (French Canadians and Jews in the U.S.), and offers a conclusion ("An Anthropological View of Minority Groups") which is verbose and jargonistic. The first half of the book can be recommended to teacher and student alike. (Seelye)

West and Augelli (see Augelli)

Whitaker, A.P. *Argentina*. Prentice-Hall, 1964; 184 pp., \$4.95. Index.

It is "normal" to stereotype foreign cultures, but in the case of Argentina the non-specialist usually applies stereotypes which correspond to different realities. The Argentines themselves, with their favorite national symbol of the Gaucho—however meaningful it may be—do not help us or anybody else to identify them (there probably are more Jews than descendants from properly called Gauchos in Argentina nowadays). This country constitutes one of the two most important cultural focal areas (the other being Mexico) in Spanish speaking America. This is a good introduction to the history and character of Argentina, especially readable on account of its clear style. Also recommended: *Argentina, A City and A Nation* by R. Scobie (Oxford U.P., 1964). (Vázquez-Bigi)

Whitaker, A.P., and D.C. Jordan. *Nationalism in Contemporary Latin America*. Free Press, 1966; 229 pp., \$5.95. Bibliography, index.

Examines the different kinds of nationalism which have emerged since 1930, varieties which prevail not only from country to country but also those which compete within na-

tional boundaries. Attention is also focused upon the sources and uses of nationalism.

The case studies (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela) have been selectively chosen because these nations, in the light of their cultural and economic development, collectively project the full spectrum of Latin nationalism. Besides the political aspects, the authors give due attention to ethnic and social factors which have played a role in the struggle to achieve national identity. (Martellaro)

Whitaker, A.P. *Latin American History Since 1825*. Service Center for Teachers of History, Publication No. 42, 2nd ed., 1965; 23 pp., 75 cents. Bibliography.

Like Gibson's companion piece on the colonial period, this is indispensable for secondary school teachers. Mentions texts available in English, weighing advantages of traditional approach (encyclopedic, national history) and more analytical or interpretative works arranged on a topical and/or regional basis. Calls attention to present concern with the interrelationships of economic, social and cultural history, counterbalancing earlier emphasis on purely political, diplomatic, and military history. Discusses developments in such fields as the Mexican Revolution of 1910, class and caste, church and state, democracy and dictatorship, and international relations. Lists a number of standard bibliographical guides. (Ely)

Wilgus, A.C. (ed.). *The Caribbean: Current United States Relations*. U. of Florida P., 1966; 243 pp., \$7.50. Index.

Articles by 21 authors on monetary, business, trade, cultural, and diplomatic relations. (Seelye)

Willems, Emilio. *Followers of the New Faith: Culture Change and the Rise of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile*. Vanderbilt U. P., 1967; 290 pp., \$6.95. Bibliography, index.

A social scientist examines the effect of a pentecostal-type Protestantism on the value structure of two countries. Based on 15 months of field study, the reports of numerous informants, and other anthropological techniques, this objective, functionalist study is a major contribution to the field. (Seelye)

Wionczek, Miguel S. "The Latin American Free Trade Association," *International Conciliation* 551. Carnegie Endowment, 1965; 79 pp., 50 cents.

Survey of the history of movement toward economic cooperation; both complete and accurate. Concludes with an evaluation of prospects for LAFTA.

Regarding the negative attitude toward regional monetary cooperation which has been maintained by the International Monetary Fund, it is useful to note that the U.S. alone possesses approximately 30% of the vote in IMF decisions. In

such circumstances it is not difficult to imply that the U.S. policy is a negative one. (Scaperlanda)

Wolf, Eric. *Sons of the Shaking Earth*. U. of Chicago P., 1959; 303 pp., \$1.50. Bibliographical notes, index.

A history of Middle America, Mexico and Guatemala, written by an anthropologist who is almost unique in his ability to express himself in flowing narrative and poetic speech. Not any the less concise or accurate, it gives reading pleasure and a deep insight into the people of these countries. (Bartell)

Wood (see Burr)

Zeitlin, M. *Cuba: Tragedy in Our Hemisphere*. Grove, 1963; 316 pp., 95 cents.

The best sympathetic account of the causes and process of the Cuban Revolution. See also: Zeitlin, M. *Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class* (Princeton U. P., 1967; 306 pp., \$8.50), which is a sociological study comparing the attitudes of workers in Cuba before and after the Revolution from a Marxist point of view. See also: Boorstein, E. *The Economic Transformation of Cuba* (Monthly Review, 1968; 303 pp., \$7.95). For an unsympathetic attack of Castro, see Draper, T. *Castro's Revolution* (Praeger, 1962; 211 pp., \$1.75). (Roman)

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